DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 190 322 RC 012 172

AUTHOR Sofranko, Andrew J., Ed.; Williams, James D., Ed.
TITLE Rebirth of Rural America: Rural Migration in the Midwest.
INSTITUTION Iowa State Univ. of Science and Technology, Ames.
SPONS AGENCY North Central Regional Center for Rural Development, Ames, Iowa.
PUB DATE Jun 80
NOTE 214p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Economic Development; *Migrants; *Motivation; Population Trends; Quality of Life; Rural Areas; *Rural Development; Rural Population; School Support; *Social Characteristics; Socioeconomic Status; *Trend Analysis; *Urban to Rural Migration
IDENTIFIERS Nonmetropolitan Areas; *United States (North Central)

ABSTRACT

The trend reversing the massive nonmetropolitan-to-metropolitan migration of the past several decades is documented in this volume which is divided into three parts. Part I provides insights into several aspects of the new migration trend in the North Central Region of the U.S. The primary emphasis is on metropolitan origin migrants. Survey findings are included on: the characteristics of migrants; the types of places from which they are coming and to which they are going; their reasons for leaving metropolitan areas and for choosing their destinations; the impact of the move on the migrant household; and the adjustment and integration of migrants in the new settings. Part II focuses on selected impacts implied by the new migration: for example, whether migrants exhibit differences in values, attitudes and preferences or whether they are likely to remain permanently in their new residences. Primary attention is given to the growth and economic development issue. Part II also focuses on the number and characteristics of migrants who are potentially mobile. In Part III detailed information is provided on several components of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream which figure prominently in discussions of the new migration: the job seekers and amenity or quality-of-life movers; older--primarily retirement--migrants; and return migrants. Part III explores many of the general migration processes examined in Part I but in terms of specific subpopulations. (Author/AN)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED190322

Rebirth of Rural America:

Rural Migration in the Midwest

Editors: Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams
University of Illinois

North Central Regional Center for Rural Development
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011

June 1980

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Ronald C. Powers

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

RC 012172

The North Central Regional Center for Rural Development
108 Curtiss Hall, Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011

Participating Universities

University of Illinois
Iowa State University
Kansas State University
Michigan State University
University of Minnesota
University of Missouri
University of Nebraska
North Dakota State University
Ohio State University
Purdue University
South Dakota State University
University of Wisconsin

The information in this publication is the result of research prepared under a grant from the North Central Regional Center for Rural Development, Iowa State University. The project was partially funded by Title V, Rural Development Act of 1972 and the grant provisions of P.L. 89-106.

The North Central Regional Center for Rural Development programs supported by funds under Title V of the Rural Development Act of 1972 are available to all potential clienteles without regard to race, color, sex, or national origin.

The editors gratefully acknowledge the support of the North Central Regional Center for Rural Development, Ames, Iowa, and the Agricultural Experiment Station at the University of Illinois. They also have appreciated numerous suggestions from Curtis Roseman throughout the execution of this research and from James Satterlee, James Zuiches, and Calvin Beale who reviewed an earlier draft of this report. They are especially grateful to Mary Johnson (University of Illinois) who typed early drafts of the manuscript and to Vicki Jennings (Iowa State University) who typed the final manuscript. The editors are also grateful to Pat Bremseth for designing the figures, assisting with the cover art, and performing some clerical services. Drawing for the cover was done by Jennifer Nerness, Iowa State University.

For a complete list of all Center publications, write the North Central Regional Center for Rural Development, 108 Curtiss Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

Volume Editor: Larry R. Whiting, Iowa State University

pages ii - Blank

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 1
Recent Nonmetropolitan Migration Trends 2
Overview of Study Design 7
Focus of the Study 8
Overview 10

Part I. Overview of the New Migration in the Region

Introduction 15
Chapter 1: Characteristics of Migrants and Residents 19
Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams
Who are the Metropolitan Origin Migrants? 19
Some Accurate Conceptions of Migrants 21
Sample Characteristics 22
Summary and Discussion 29
Chapter 2: Origins and Destinations of Migrants 33
Andrew J. Sofranko, Frederick C. Fliegel, and James D. Williams
How Far Have Migrants Moved? 33
Sizes of Places of Origin and Destination 35
Residential Location in Rural Destinations 39
Summary and Discussion 43
Chapter 3: Motivations and Migration Decisions 45
Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams
Explanations for Moving 45
Analysis of Migrants' Motivations for Moving 47
Further Evidence for the Motivations of Metropolitan Origin Migrants 51
Satisfaction with Former Residence 56
Reasons for Selecting Destinations 60
Motivations for Moving and Destination Selection 62
Summary and Discussion 65
Chapter 4: Migration and Changing Household Conditions 67
Frederick C. Fliegel and James D. Williams
Employment, Unemployment, and Type of Job 68
Income Changes 74
Gains and Losses in Quality of Life 77
Housing and Tenure Changes 81
Summary and Discussion 84
Chapter 5: Migrant Adjustment and Integration in the New Residence 87
Nina Glasgow and Andrew J. Sofranko
Adjustment of Migrants in the New Residence 88
Integration of Migrants in the New Residence 95
Summary and Discussion 103

page iv Blank

Part II: Some Implications of the New Migration

Introduction 107
Chapter 6: Implications of the New Migration for Economic Growth and Development 109
Frederick C. Fliegel
Is Growth Perceived as Problematic? 110
Growth, Demand for Services, and Taxes 112
Attitudes Toward Controlling Growth and Development 116
Summary and Discussion 118
Chapter 7: Mobility Expectations of Recent Migrants 121
Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams
Influences on Residential Attachment 121
Potential for Outmigration 122
How Do Potential Movers and Stayers Differ? 126
Where Would Potential Migrants Go? 130
Duration of Residence and Mobility Potential 131
Summary and Discussion 133

Part III: A Closer Look at the Major Components of the New Migration

Introduction 137
Chapter 8: Job Seekers and Amenity Movers: Differences and Impact Potential 139
Andrew J. Sofranko
Origins and Destinations of Employment and Amenity Movers 140
Characteristics of Amenity and Employment Movers 141
Impact of Move on Job-Seekers' and Amenity Movers' Households 143
Development and Growth Implications 146
Involvement of Migrants in Their New Residences 148
Mobility Intentions of Employment and Amenity Movers 149
Summary and Discussion 150
Chapter 9: The Older Metropolitan Origin Migrant as a Factor in Rural Population Growth 153
Nina Glasgow
Characteristics of Elderly Migrants 155
Elderly Migrants' Motivations For Moving 161
Migrants' Ties in Destination Areas 161
Gains and Losses in Quality of Life 163
Attitudes Toward Community Improvement 167
Mobility Intentions of Migrants 168
Summary and Discussion 169
Chapter 10: Return Migrants From Metropolitan Areas 171
James D. Williams
Background Characteristics 172
Origins and Destinations 173

Ties to the Destination Area 175
Migration Motivations 177
Socio-Economic Status Changes Attending Migration 178
Selected Issues 180
Summary and Discussion 182
Chapter 11: The New Migration: Origins, Impacts, and Implications for the Future 183
Andrew J. Sofranko and Frederick C. Fliegel
The Quest for Amenities 184
Flight From the City 187
Societal Affluence and the New Migration 190
The Graying of Rural America 194
Urbanization of the Hinterland 197
What of the Future? 201
References 203
Appendix: Survey Methodology 209

INTRODUCTION

Migration from the countryside to urban areas has been the dominant form of population redistribution in the United States for decades, with large metropolitan areas growing faster and at the expense of rural and other nonmetropolitan areas. In more recent years, however, demographers have documented a reversal of this long-term trend. Whether it is referred to as the "new migration," the "rural renaissance," or the "demographic revival of nonmetropolitan territory," the data are illustrating in simple terms a renewal of population growth in nonmetropolitan areas in general, and rural areas in particular. This new trend reversing the massive nonmetropolitan-to-metropolitan migration of the past several decades is broad-based, becoming firmly established, and not confined to areas surrounding large urban centers. The 1970s appear to have been a decade of "centrifugal drift" of population to more rural residences.

Various explanations, ranging from economics to attitudes (Beale, 1976), have arisen to account for this rural revitalization. Growing employment opportunities in rural areas, disenchantment with urban life, environmental and ecological concerns, as well as a narrowing of the historical gap between urban and rural differences, have been suggested as stimuli. Because of general affluence and a variety of structural changes in American society, there is an emerging "floating population" which can settle where it pleases and which can act on its desires (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976). It is presumed that the new metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants are such highly voluntary types.

News media accounts of the trend and results from secondary data analyses and residential preference surveys have converged on the explanation that, unlike past rural-to-urban migration, current nonmetropolitan growth is characterized more by an emphasis on quality of life than economic motivations in the decision to move and in the choice of destination. Despite this fairly widespread consensus regarding the noneconomic basis for renewed rural growth, there has been little direct research on the *cause* of the reversal or on a host of other issues which it implies.

The research reported here has been designed to provide detailed information on the migration experiences of recent metropolitan and nonmetropolitan origin households which have moved to high net in-migration counties of the North Central Region. The overall objectives are, first, to address some of the more fundamental questions raised by the new migration; for example, those raised about the characteristics of migrants, their motivations underlying the migration decisions, socioeconomic and quality of life changes experienced by migrants, and adjustment and integration difficulties.

Secondly, the research will address some selected impact issues associated with the new migration. It is becoming apparent that nonmetropolitan growth has the potential for altering rural areas, culturally as well as demographically. Migrants may be quite dif-

ferent from residents in background and personal characteristics as well as on the perspectives they bring to their new destinations.

Finally, the report will focus on several population subgroups which draw considerable attention in discussions of the new migration: older migrants, those moving for employment and amenity reasons, and return migrants. Each of these subgroups will be subjected to a closer examination of motivations, costs and benefits, experiences, outlooks, and expectations.

Recent Nonmetropolitan Migration Trends

The dominant form of past population redistribution in the United States has been migration from rural areas and smaller places up the urban hierarchy. As a result, highly urbanized metropolitan areas of the nation have grown faster than, and at the expense of, nonmetropolitan rural areas. Urban industrial and business expansion, by requiring much more labor than was available in cities, provided the impetus for urban employment growth. At the same time mechanization in agriculture brought increased productivity per farm worker and created a surplus population in rural areas. The growing numbers of surplus workers in rural areas thus found simultaneously expanding employment opportunities. The resulting rural-to-urban migration stream continued well into the 1960s.

In the 1960s concern arose over the consequences of this rural-to-urban shift. Ironically, it arose as the surplus rural population was being depleted. The shift had produced urban sprawl, highly concentrated enclaves of central-city poverty, and in concert with suburbanization, fiscal decline in metropolitan areas. At the same time many rural areas were left depopulated and economically depressed. By the end of the 1960s, however, the great rural-to-urban flow had dwindled to a trickle and cities became increasingly dependent upon natural increase and net intermetropolitan gains for their population growth. Some nonmetropolitan areas were growing, but they were generally located near large metropolitan centers and were able to capture the growth-inducing effects of urban spillover.

The decade of the seventies has produced surprising evidence of an unanticipated trend in metropolitan-nonmetropolitan population exchange patterns. Not only had the rural-to-urban movement come to an end, it had actually reversed direction, and nonmetropolitan areas, overall, had grown faster than metropolitan areas. Migration *from* cities exceeded migration *to* cities throughout the 1970-77 period, giving rise to what has been termed a "population turnaround" or "rural renaissance." This reversal of the dominant migration stream occurred at a time when it was assumed that the trend toward metropolitan concentration would continue into the future as an inevitable concomitant of economic development and urban dominance, and when public attention was focused on the problem of population distribution and the need for explicit national

population policies (Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972; Fuguitt, 1972; President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, 1968).

Numerous hypotheses have arisen to explain the new migration trend: the movement of the urban elderly to rural retirement and recreation areas; the growth-inducing effects of state universities and community colleges located in nonmetropolitan counties; rural industrialization and industrial decentralization; super-suburbanization; and the reaction of many individuals and families to the problems associated with urban life (Fuguitt and Beale, 1978). The explanations reflect a combination of urban push and rural pull factors. It is thus assumed that while some migrants are reacting to urban conditions, others are being attracted by perceived favorable conditions in more rural areas.

The basis for much of the speculation on causes rests on analysis of secondary county data, simulation models of the U. S. economy, and small surveys conducted as case studies. For the most part, research on the migration reversal has been directed toward describing nonmetropolitan areas which have had high rates of net inmigration. These comparisons and other indicators of change in more rural areas have provided the basis for inferring motives for moving.

A review of the evidence for and against several of the prevailing explanations is instructive because it suggests important questions about the new trend which remain unanswered. Recently, urban growth has been accompanied by suburbanization, leading to suggestions that the recent upsurge in nonmetropolitan growth is simply reflecting employment decentralization and suburbanization through further urban sprawl. But, evidence presented by McCarthy and Morrison (1978) indicates that urban sprawl no longer *fully* accounts for the growth that nonmetropolitan areas now experience. In comparing rates of net migration for 1960-1970 with 1970-1974, they conclude that the revival of nonmetropolitan growth has occurred in all regions, in all types of nonmetropolitan counties, and most notably in the rural, and that the influence of metropolitan adjacency has largely disappeared (McCarthy and Morrison 1978:27). This seems to confirm earlier analysis where Morrison and Wheeler (1976:11), in their examination of a possible suburbanization explanation, found that "counties with the least commuting have experienced the most pronounced change in growth pattern. . ." for the periods 1960-70 and 1970-74.

The results of these analyses document that net inmigration to nonmetropolitan areas is occurring in counties adjacent to metropolitan areas, as well as in the more remote and less urbanized counties. It is in these latter counties that turnaround is most startling since, as Zelinsky suggests, it is necessary to ". . .confront those hundreds of remote, thinly settled, and emphatically bucolic counties for whose recent demographic resurgence there is no halfway plausible economic rationale" (Zelinsky, 1977:176).

Recreation and retirement areas in the nation also have shown considerable growth over the past decade. However, since the effects

of these two sources of change are operationally and spatially difficult to disentangle (Beale, 1975:9), it's unknown just how important each is to the new trend.

Residential preference surveys have consistently presaged the current reversal. Over the past 10 years a majority of Americans responding to polls have indicated that if jobs and services were available, they would choose to live in less urbanized areas but near metropolitan centers (see, for example, Zuiches and Fuguitt, 1976). This expressed preference for a more rural life has led to suggestions that the post-1970 shifts in migration patterns may largely reflect the extent to which people are acting out preferences, and, in particular, implementing their disenchantment with living in highly urbanized areas. In fact, Zuiches and Fuguitt (1976:10) found a rough correspondence between the redistribution implied by preferences and actual patterns of post-1970 redistribution.

This rural-preference, anti-urban explanation has become especially evident in the popular media where the population reversal has consistently been highlighted by "green dream" or "back to the land" themes. Evidence for this popular explanation, however, consists mostly of a few selected interviews with recent migrants and remains circumstantial and anecdotal at best.

Recent trends in the North Central Region[1]

The North Central Region, comprising 12 states, is both large and heterogeneous. With a 1970 population of more than 56 million, it includes more than 25 percent of the nation's population. Past population trends in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan portions of the region have been similar to those for the nation as a whole. Net outmigration from nonmetropolitan areas continued through the 1950s and into the 1960s, although in some parts of the region, such as the Ozarks portion of Missouri, and upper Michigan, migration turnaround became evident before 1970. Since 1970 the North Central Region has shown the same general population patterns that have characterized the nation. Table 1 presents population change and net migration data for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties classified by location and level of urbanization.

In the two previous decades **metropolitan** counties grew at annual rates of 2.09 percent and 1.22 percent. Since 1970, average annual growth has been only .22 percent, a marked slowdown. This decline in growth is noticeable across all types of metropolitan counties, but it is most pronounced in the core counties of metropolitan areas of a million population or more—those containing the downtown and surrounding business areas of major cities. Between 1970 and 1974 this subset of metropolitan counties actually lost population.

Nonmetropolitan counties, by contrast, had an annual population growth rate higher than that for the metropolitan counties (.77

Table 1. Annual rates of population change and net migration, by metropolitan and nonmetropolitan location categories, North Central States 1950-60,1960-70,1970-74

County characteristic and location	Annual rate of population change			Annual rate of net migration			Number of counties
	1950-60	1960-70	1970-74	1950-60	1960-70	1970-74	
North Central States							1,056
Metropolitan	2.09	1.22	.22	.45	.03	−.55	181
SMSAs 1 million plus							
Core counties	1.35	.53	−.73	−.18	−.58	−1.40	12
Fringe counties	4.68	2.97	1.61	2.86	1.62	.71	50
SMSAs 250,000 to 1 million	2.23	1.21	.44	.47	−.02	−.38	63
SMSAs less than 250,000	1.71	1.22	.70	.11	.04	−.07	56
Nonmetropolitan	.36	.27	.77	−.93	−.51	.32	875
Adjacent	.77	.58	.78	−.48	−.24	.26	298
SLP 10,000 plus[a]	1.32	.84	.51	−.05	−.12	−.12	82
2,500-10,000	.33	.34	1.03	−.83	−.36	.60	164
less than 2,500	−.49	.00	1.50	−1.46	−.45	1.31	52
Not adjacent	−.02	−.03	.75	−1.34	−.78	.38	577
SLP 10,000 plus[a]	.80	.60	.84	−.65	−.38	.24	97
2,500-10,000	−.27	−.35	.54	−1.50	−.95	.31	212
less than 2,500	−.99	−.71	.99	−2.23	−1.26	.83	268

[a]SLP represents the population size of largest place in the county as of 1970.

Source: Fuguitt and Beale, 1978.

percent vs. .22 percent), 1970-1974. And it's not likely that the growth is simply attributable to "spillover" from metropolitan to adjoining counties. The "adjacent" county group, which would reflect the spillover, had an annual growth rate of .78 percent, compared with .75 percent for the nonadjacent group. Thus, while there may be some "spillover" or "centrifugal movement" away from metropolitan centers, that is not the entire explanation. Nor can it be argued that growth is occurring largely in the more urbanized nonmetropolitan counties—those with larger towns. The breakdowns by size of largest place in county (SLP) in Table 1 provide very little support for that particular argument. In both adjacent and nonadjacent counties the most rural counties (with no place of 2,500 or more) had the highest average annual rates of growth. The regional data, which parallel national trends, are thus impervious to explanations invoking *only* the processes of suburbanization or "spillover," or urbanization.

Annual net migration rates demonstrate the important migrational contribution to the slowdown in growth of metropolitan counties. Overall, the loss of population through migration is pervasive in the metropolitan counties of the region, with the exception of the "fringe" counties of the metropolitan areas. Moreover, migration turnaround is pervasive in both adjacent and nonadjacent nonmetropolitan counties. Nonmetropolitan counties experienced net outmigration in the past two decades, but between 1970-74 they have experienced modest annual rates of net inmigration. The turnaround also is evident in all SLP categories in nonmetropolitan counties, the single exception being the most highly urbanized (10,000 and up SLP) adjacent counties. A nice illustration of the turnaround, and its depth, can be seen in a comparison of migration rates for the rural counties and the fringe counties, which consist largely of suburban-type areas. The completely rural counties, both adjacent and nonadjacent, have higher *rates* of net inmigration (1.31 percent and .83 percent) than the fringe counties (.71 percent) for the 1970-74 period.

There has been considerable diversity in patterns of migration among the various states and counties in the region. One concentration of nonmetropolitan counties experiencing net inmigration in the region is located in the Upper Great Lakes, cut-over lands of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. A second large area is located in the Ozarks region of southern Missouri. States showing overall nonmetropolitan migration turnaround (1970-74) are Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and Kansas. In Michigan, nonmetropolitan counties showed slight net inmigration between 1960 and 1970 and rapid net inmigration in the 1970s. In the remaining five states of the region there is still a trend toward overall net outmigration from nonmetropolitan counties, but there have been significant reductions in net outmigration in the post-1970 period as compared to the 1960s. There are nonmetropolitan areas with continued net outmigration, especially in the heavily agricultural Western states of the region, but their losses have been more than offset in the region by other areas experiencing rapid net inmigration.

In general, Fuguitt and Beale's (1978) analysis suggests that many of the correlates of post-1970 nonmetropolitan population revival which have been demonstrated for the nation also apply in the North Central Region. These include the presence of educational institutions, past patterns of high inmigration for those at retirement ages, low dependence on agriculture for employment, and neither a very high nor a very low level of dependence upon manufacturing employment.

Overview of Study Design

Given that most current knowledge about the turnaround phenomenon rests on ecological forms of analysis, the justification for acquiring survey data should be self-evident. Survey data are necessary to gain insights about a variety of social-psychological or attitudinal dimensions of the phenomenon. Data of this type are simply not readily available from census sources. The overriding concern in designing this project has been to gather data of a type for which surveys are particularly valuable.

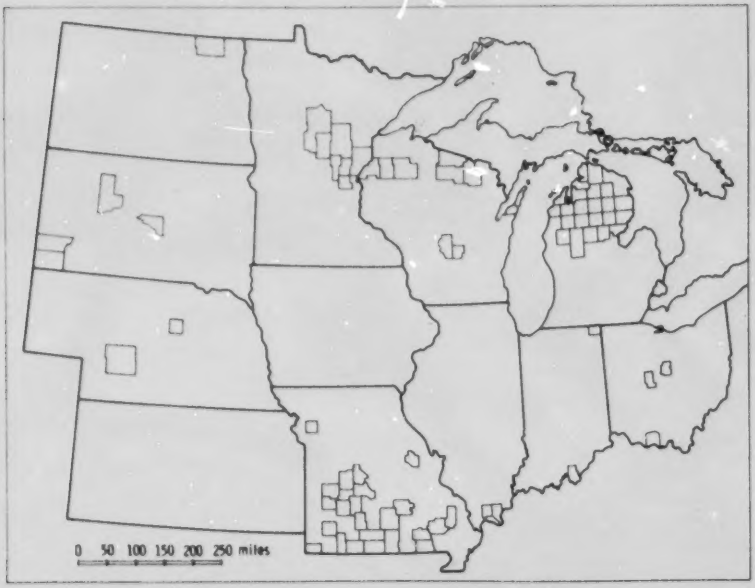
The data reported in this document were obtained from a 1977 telephone survey of migrants and residents in high net inmigration, nonmetropolitan counties of the North Central Region. The Survey Research Laboratory of the University of Illinois conducted telephone interviews with 501 inmigrant households from metropolitan areas (SMSAs), 208 from nonmetropolitan areas, and 425 residents of the sample area. Complete research and sampling design details are presented in the appendix.

To facilitate locating and contacting potential migrants over a broad area, the geographical scope of the survey was narrowed and a phone-directory matching procedure was used. As a result the research focused on the 75 nonmetropolitan North Central counties with net inmigration rates of 10 percent or higher, 1970-75. A large portion of these counties is in Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin, but the sample counties are by no means homogeneous with regard to the factors assumed to be important to the new migration trend. They are diverse in terms of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics and most are entirely rural and not adjacent to metropolitan areas. A map of target counties is presented in Figure 1.

All telephone exchanges were identified for each of the target counties, and a systematic random sample of households was drawn from the most recent directories. These were then matched with 1970 directories, yielding two types of households—expected residents and expected migrants. Subsequent screening was used to identify three respondent types: inmigrants (1970-1977) originating in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties and continuous (since 1970) residents (for details, see Appendix B).

Heads of households were the primary target group, although spouses were interviewed after several unsuccessful attempts at con-

Figure 1. High net inmigration survey counties of the North Central Region (N = 75)



tacting the head. Temporary and seasonal residents were excluded, and refusal rates were quite low for a survey of this type—ranging from 3 percent to 9 percent (after screening) depending on respondent type.

Focus of the Study

The study was conducted against a background of research which suggests that the current migration reversal is being influenced by noneconomic considerations, and against widespread speculation regarding the impact of the "rural renaissance" on migrants, migrant households, and destination areas.

Although there is some evidence for arguing that noneconomic factors have become important in migration decisions, there is only speculation when it comes to assessing the individual and household impacts associated with nonmetropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan moves. On the one hand, migrants are supposedly characterized by the importance they place on noneconomic considerations and a general willingness to forego higher incomes and better jobs for a more rural, simple, amenity-rich environment. On the other hand, many are certain to be following the job market or searching for better jobs, in which case the move may be accompanied by economic and occupational improvement. These are an illustration of the varied and inconsistent hypotheses which abound regarding the economic and occupational impacts on migrant households and individuals.

Speculation is just as widespread regarding impact at the community level, where inmigration is viewed alternatively as a promise and as a threat. Renewed population growth is seen as an opportunity to redress many of the problems arising from the selective outmigrations of the past, but there also are expressions of fear about rural growth. Newcomers may differ dramatically, have vastly different conceptions about what is appropriate and desirable for the community, and put added pressure on services and institutions. Debates over impact have been kept at a rather general level with little concern for specifying varieties of impact or the population subgroups which may be having the greater impacts.

In general, there have been few attempts to tie the new rural growth to issues covered in traditional migration research and little research has been conducted which tests, at a broad level, many of the hypotheses suggested by the nonmetropolitan net inmigration phenomenon. Existing survey research is either location-specific, age-specific, or nonsystematic and thus does not provide a good base for establishing generalizations. To confirm many of the hypotheses implicit in the migration turnaround, the "socioeconomic characteristics of the migrants need to be better described, the metropolitan places that serve as source localities need to be better identified, the attractions of nonmetropolitan destinations need to be better understood, and the consequences of the migration for both origin and destination localities need to be better explained" (Chalmers and Greenwood, 1977:170). The present research, which focuses on nonmetropolitan inmigration into high-growth areas of an entire region, provides the data base for addressing precisely these types of research questions and for making the comparisons necessary to address the uniqueness of the new migration and its impact.

Much of what has been written about the new migration—the motivations underlying it as well as its presumed impact—is premised largely on the assumed uniqueness of the new stream. Migrants from metropolitan areas are assumed, or suggested to be responding to stimuli different from those of other migrants and they are assumed to be different from residents of the areas to which they are moving. Comparisons between types of migrants, and between migrants and rural nonmovers, suggest that there are differences (Zuiches and Brown, 1978), but again these comparisons haven't directly addressed the motivational, perceptual, and attitudinal differences which may exist and which may be crucial for assessing continuation of the trend or its impact.

Before one can develop an understanding of whether the new migration trend is in any respect unique, or of its potential impact, there must be some bases against which comparisons can be made. Metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants may be unique in their response to noneconomic factors, but are they different from other, nonmetropolitan origin migrants moving into the same nonmetropolitan counties? A similar question can be raised about

metropolitan origin migrants' impact: Are they sufficiently different from residents of the destination areas that one might argue for an eventual transformation of rural America? A major consideration in the design of the present research has been on obtaining data necessary for making these types of comparative evaluations. The samples of nonmetropolitan origin migrants and nonmetropolitan residents will permit these assessments.

Overview

Part I provides fundamental insights into several aspects of the new migration trend in the North Central Region. The primary emphasis will be on metropolitan origin migrants, with occasional reference to comparable data from nonmetropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants and nonmetropolitan residents. The chapters in Part I are basically descriptive summaries of the survey findings on the characteristics of migrants, the types of places they are coming from and going to, their reasons for leaving metropolitan areas and for choosing their destinations, the impact of the move on the migrant household, and the adjustment and integration of migrants in the new settings.

Part II of the research focuses on some selected impacts implied by the new migration. At issue is whether migrants exhibit differences in values, attitudes and preferences, and whether they are likely to remain permanently in their new residences. Primary attention will focus on the growth and economic development issue and, specificially, on whether migrants and residents hold different views and the potential implications of such differences. On the mobility-expectation issue, the research will focus on the number and characteristics of migrants who are potentially mobile. Overall, Part II is designed to, first, permit examination of demographic changes, and the sources of the changes, attributable to inmigration. Second, it will permit establishing whether migrants are more or less receptive to community improvements and economic development strategies that would encourage growth. And third, it will permit a gross examination of the potential impact of the new migration on nonmetropolitan areas of the region.

In Part III attention is turned toward providing more detailed information on several components of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream which figure prominently in discussions of the new migration: the job seekers and amenity or quality-of-life movers; older—primarily retirement—migrants; and return migrants. Job seekers and amenity movers are two dominant types of inmigrants to the target areas, and much of the speculation surrounding the continuation of the new migration and its eventual impact on rural areas has focused at one time or another on these modal types. It also has been widely assumed, and reported, that the inmigrant stream consists of a heavy elderly flow, many of whom are presumed to be moving for retirement or preretirement reasons

to areas in which they once lived or to areas in which they have extensive social ties. Other research has documented the incidence and importance of returnees among the recent migrants to rural areas. There has been, however, little specific research on return migrants themselves—why they return, how they differ from nonreturn migrants, the impact of the move on them, or their impact on destination areas. Part III explores many of the general migration processes examined in Part I but for the specific subpopulations identified above.

We are reporting rather general findings on some of the more important issues related to population turnaround. This analysis will provide the basic information for filling a number of the voids in the current understanding of this important migration trend.

---

[1]Much of the information presented in the following section is from Fuguitt and Beale (1978).

Part I

Overview of the New Migration in the Region

page 12-Blank

INTRODUCTION

Once the population turnaround had been established as a real and relatively widespread phenomenon, a variety of questions arose about the types of individuals and households moving to rural areas, their motivations, the types of places they were coming from and in which they were relocating, the changes and adaptations they experienced as a result of moving, and their future residential mobility. In the first part of the text efforts are directed toward providing insights in these aspects of the "new migration" in the North Central Region.

The objectives of Chapter 1 are to attempt a characterization of the metropolitan origin migrants in the survey and to compare them with the nonmetropolitan origin migrants and residents in the survey. Most of the attention in the chapter is on the metropolitan origin migrants, and especially on how closely they fit some of the current conceptions on the composition of the overall metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream. This presentation is followed by a comparison of all three sample groups on a standard set of demographic and socioeconomic measures. This comparison serves a dual purpose. It permits the reader to establish how similar or different migrant groups are from one another and from the sample of residents, and it provides the context for interpreting and understanding much of the data presented throughout the text.

In Chapter 2 attention is focused on the origins and destinations of migrants, with a broad look at how far they have moved, the sizes of their places of origin and destination, and the relationship between the sizes of the two places. Attention then shifts to the migrants' consideration of alternative destinations. Finally, there is an examination of the types of residences migrants are occupying in the destination areas, with particular attention to their levels of farm and country living.

Chapter 3 looks in detail at a host of issues centered on the migration decisions of moving from a residence and selecting a destination. The basic questions being raised about the new migration trend concern the migration decision itself: Why are people moving from urban areas and what factors are influencing their choices of destination? Various motivations for moving have been identified but they have been largely inferential, and the question of choice of destination has seldom been raised. Nor is there much empirical basis for positing a "uniqueness" to this particular stream. It is widely argued that the new migration is a vast departure from past trends and is motivated by different concerns, but there is as yet little evidence to suggest that metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants are different from any other current group of migrants.

Migrants' destination selections have also been a neglected issue, and largely because the reasons for moving and for choosing a place of destination were left operationally indistinguishable. It is not known for the current new migration trend whether the location decision is distinct from the decision to leave the metropolitan area,

and if it is, what factors are influencing the destination selection. Chapter 3 looks at both aspects of the migration decision—why migrants report that they left origin areas and why they chose the particular destinations at which they are currently living. The research findings are presented in the context of the relative importance of economic and noneconomic considerations in the formulation of these decisions. Chapter 3 then turns to assessments of migrants' satisfaction and dissatisfaction with various aspects of the former environment and to the relationship between the two dimensions of the migration decision—leaving an origin and choosing a destination.

The data in Chapter 4 focus on the socioeconomic effects of migration on migrant households, with particular attention to some of the "costs" which are presumed to characterize this migrant stream. An assessment is made of the extent to which there are employment status, income, and occupational status changes resulting from the move, and in particular an attempt is made to establish whether there is any evidence that socio-economic improvements are being "traded off" for rural amenities. Finally, from a more subjective, quality-of-life perspective, the research looks at migrants' perceived residential improvements resulting from the move.

Chapter 4 addresses many of the fundamental assumptions made about metropolitan-origin migrants' motivations. Historically, migration has been viewed as a means for economic and occupational betterment, for obtaining better housing, and for implementing a variety of residential and locational preferences. Unlike past migrations, though, the new migration is felt to be characterized by the importance migrants have placed on noneconomic considerations. The popular media are rife with illustrations which suggest that urban migrants are foregoing higher incomes and better jobs for a more rural, amenity-rich environment. Little is actually known, however, about any of the economic costs or benefits associated with urban-to-rural migration, whether the previously unemployed in urban areas find employment in rural destinations, whether the employed become unemployed or less employed, or whether workers shift to higher- or lower-prestige jobs. Nor do we know much about how household incomes are affected by the move, in either the short run or over time. These related issues are the topic of Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 focuses on the related topics of migrant adjustment and integration in the new residential setting. Data are presented first on migrants' recollection of adjustment difficulties at the time of the move. The focus then turns to the influence of selected antecedent factors on ease and difficulty in adjusting to the new residential setting. Of particular interest are how the disparity in size between former and current residence affects adjustment and how migration motivations influence adjustment.

The latter part of Chapter 5 addresses one of the frequently raised questions about the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream —how actively involved are migrants in their new residences?

Particular attention is given to how closely migrants' integration approximates that of current nonmetropolitan residents, how it is affected by time, and how it is influenced by other antecedent factors which have been pointed to as inhibiting and facilitating influences. Finally, the chapter looks at the relationship between integration and mobility expectations.

Chapter 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS

Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams

Who are the Metropolitan Origin Migrants?

Perhaps the most general and accurate observation one can make about the new migrants in the region is that they cannot be characterized easily. They are quite diverse and not readily described by a single label. This stems in large part from the many different influences known to be attracting migrants to these fast-growing sample counties. These counties are themselves heterogeneous and thus present a variety of stimuli to potential in-migrants. As a result many of the current stereotypical notions of who the migrants are will have to be modified, at least at the regional level. We can say unequivocally who they are not: upper middle-class professionals escaping the confines of city living for a more pastoral life style, in the process setting aside the materialism of the city for a less complex existence; elderly migrants, thoroughly dissatisfied with city life, going back to areas where they grew up or where they have children; or environmentalists and homesteaders engaged in a "back-to-the-land" movement, living on farms and farming for a livelihood, dedicated to the preservation of an agrarian tradition. None of these simplified conceptions describe more than a small portion of the metropolitan origin migrants. The following sections look at these broad characterizations more closely.

Migrants as middle class escapists

Contrary to media reporting, there is very little evidence that the metropolitan origin migrant stream constitutes an "upper middle class escapism." By even the most liberal definitions, the metropolitan origin migrants fail to emerge as a true upper middle-class segment of the population. Only slightly more than 40 percent of the male metropolitan origin migrants came from what we would term "upper white-collar" occupations in their places of origin. Only slightly more than a third of these migrants have gone beyond high school, and in terms of income there is considerable variation. About 40 percent had incomes of $10,000 or less in the year before the move, hardly evidence that they are an affluent segment of the population. On the other hand, while a substantial number of

page 18 Blank

metropolitan origin households (25 percent) moved for employment reasons, there is simply no evidence that rural areas are serving as magnets for an underclass—the poor, the unemployed, and the unemployable. Less than one in six metropolitan origin migrant households could be described as low income (under $5,000) at the time of their move, and most of these were retirees. No more than 3 percent of either males or females in the labor force was unemployed at the time of the move, and within a few years after moving, employment levels among migrants approximate closely the pre-move level, demonstrating, if nothing else, their employability in the new residence. Thus, we see that the metropolitan origin migrants are not at either of the socioeconomic extremes.

Migrants as elderly returnees

The notion that the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrant stream is composed largely of elderly movers returning to birth places or areas of former residence is not a very accurate characterization, either. How large a portion the elderly are of the inflow varies, of course, with how one defines elderly. Using the standard definition of 65 and over, less than a fifth of the metropolitan origin migrants are elderly, roughly the proportion elderly households are of all households in the United States. Dropping the age to 55 increases the proportion to only slightly more than a third of the migrants, still a relatively small portion of the sample. Return migrants—to either birthplace or another area of former residence—make up no more than a fourth to a third of the total metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrant sample, again depending on how one defines "return." And the elderly are no different than the sample as a whole, with less than a fourth returning to counties in which they had lived previously. It is clear that, in general, the metropolitan origin migrants, elderly and younger migrants alike, are moving to new areas, not "home." The elderly are much more likely than the younger migrants to have children in the places where they move, but still the figure does not exceed one in five elderly metropolitan origin migrants with children in the destination area. And as a result of the move, elderly metropolitan origin migrants are more likely to end up farther from their families than they were before the move. It is thus possible to dispel a subtheme of the elderly-return notion: the new migration is not founded on the "rediscovery of the family." It should be pointed out, however, that the metropolitan origin migrants, elderly and young alike, are not moving to unfamiliar or randomly chosen areas, either. Three out of four had preexisting ties in the destination areas, primarily ties of friendship developed over the years from vacationing or visiting in the area, owning property in the area, or simply having known someone residing there.

Metropolitan origin migrants as modern-day homesteaders

The desire to return to a more agricultural way of life is apparently a dream which pervades urban society, but it does not appear to be terribly deep-rooted, if one uses the current metropolitan origin migrants as a case in point. About one in five households report living on a farm, but more than two-thirds of those simply live on farms, producing nothing for sale. At most, the research has turned up about 20-30 families living on farms who actually farm for a portion of their livelihood. Furthermore, a good portion of those living on farms or farming are clearly in blue-collar occupations, suggesting that even for those on farms there is little evidence of a white-collar "back-to-the-land movement." We will look more closely at this issue in the next chapter.

Some Accurate Conceptions of Migrants

The data go a long way toward dispelling some of the prevailing misconceptions which abound regarding the types of individuals and households moving to nonmetropolitan high-growth areas. They also provide the documentation for other widely held beliefs about the new migration, particularly beliefs about migrants' motivations for moving and choosing destinations and about the types of places they are coming from and going to. The evidence overwhelmingly supports the notions that migrants are motivated by noneconomic, nonemployment considerations; no more than a fourth of the metropolitan origin migrants have moved for employment reasons, thus confirming what has been widely speculated on—that they are moving for a variety of social and environmental reasons. They are moreover not simply moving to next-door counties, but are changing jobs as well as residences; less than one in ten moved to a neighboring county and a similar portion retained their former employment after moving. Finally, they are indeed moving to the more rural residences, with more than 80 percent living in our near villages and towns with less than 5,000 population, and about two-thirds residing in close proximity to, but outside, the corporate limits of these places.

Nonemployment considerations are also instrumental in the decision-making process of destination selection. If the metropolitan origin migrants' destination choices were to be characterized by a single factor, it would have to be "ties" in the area to which they moved.

Another conception of the trend which we have been able to document is that the metropolitan origin migrants are largely coming from cities rather than from the suburban or fringe portions of metropolitan areas. Slightly more than 60 percent were living inside central cities of at least 50,000 population before moving. Most, however, were not lifelong residents of the cities they came from or

of cities generally. About four out of five of the metropolitan origin migrants had a history of prior moves before migrating to the sample counties. At least three out of five migrants had lived in small towns or rural areas at some point in their lives and in this sense could be viewed as "going back" to a type of residence they experienced previously in their lives.

Who, then, are the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants? Perhaps the most appropriate description is that they are a widely varying segment of the population which defies stereotyping and quick-and-easy characterizations. Roughly equal proportions are older, middle-aged, and young; some are college educated but most are not; they represent a wide range of incomes, not particularly wealthy, but not indigent, either. They are arriving almost entirely in family units. Unemployment among migrants was negligible in the prior residence; they are in both blue-collar and white-collar occupations and most end up in the same types of occupations that they had prior to moving. In terms of income, they neither sacrifice a lot nor get rich as a result of the move. They represent a broad cross-section of the population, a fact which has to be considered when discussing the continuation of the trend.

Sample Characteristics

The following section presents data for all three sample groups on a variety of sociodemographic measures. It permits a comparison of metropolitan origin migrants with migrants of nonmetropolitan origin and residents of the sample areas. Since many of the findings reported in subsequent chapters vary by sample, this chapter will provide a background for interpreting and understanding much of the later data as well. In several instances background differences have dictated the need for controls in later sections and suggested specific types of analytic comparisons. The differences also are important in another respect; to those who are concerned with the more applied perspectives of the new migration the differences are suggestive of the distinctive needs which may be associated with certain subgroups.

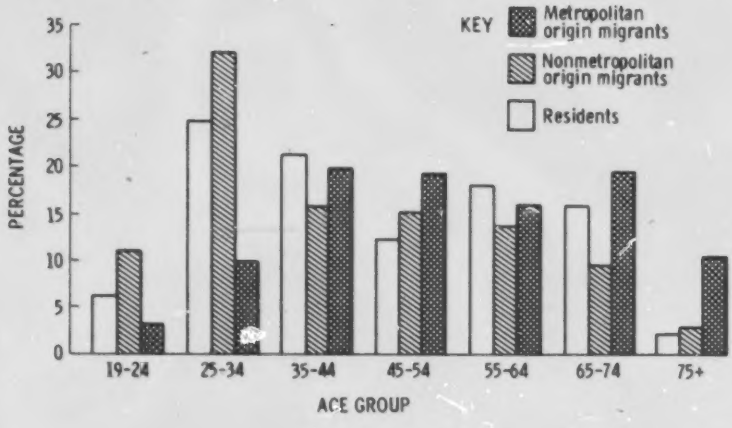
Background differences among the sample groups will be particularly important referents in the portion of the research which examines the potential impact of the rural renaissance. Much of the impact which has been alluded to in writings on the new migration has been tied to the differences which are presumed to exist between migrants and residents of nonmetropolitan areas. In turn, personal and socioeconomic differences have been extrapolated to encompass a host of social psychological differences—in values, attitudes, preferences and tastes—which are assumed to translate into demands and behaviors which may be at odds with those of residents. All of this has given rise to a rather pessimistic stance on the new migration's impact. However, equally facile assumptions are made among those approaching the impact issue from the perspective that the trend represents more of a benefit than a burden. Again, the

starting point is the assumed differences between migrants and residents. The data in the following section will not explore the entire sequence of linkages outlined above. The linkages will be discussed at various points in the text.

Age

Considerable age differences exist among the sample groups (cf. figure 1.1). The age distributions are quite different for the two migrant samples, and overall the tabulations show the migrants to be younger than the residents. These differences are consistent with recent aggregate data on the age composition of migrants to nonmetropolitan areas when compared to nonmetropolitan nonmigrants (Zuiches and Brown, 1978), and with the general migration literature which has consistently documented an inverse relationship between age and migration propensity. The inmigrants from metropolitan areas have a higher proportion (36 percent versus 26 percent) of the sample in the 55 and over age groups than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, suggesting a higher proportion either at or near retirement. The nonmetropolitan origin migrants, the younger group, has the highest proportion of all three groups under age 35 (43 percent). From the residents' point of view, however, both groups of inmigrants are much younger, thus lending some credence to suggestions that an influx of younger people into nonmetropolitan areas could mean renewed economic and social vitality. Retirement-related migration is certainly in evidence, but it is considerably offset by gains in population at younger ages and, thus, at a regional level does not by itself threaten to further skew the age composition of the nonmetropolitan midwest toward the aged. As will be the case throughout this volume, there will be no data on outmigrants from the sample areas, and, as a result, we cannot address the impacts due to net changes.

Figure 1.1. Age composition of respondent groups



Household composition and family status

With regard to marital status, it is evident in Table 1.1 that most of the migrants and residents are married. The range across the three groups is 79 to 81 percent married. As would be expected from the age data, residents showed the highest proportion widowed (about 15 percent), with the migrant groups each having about 8 percent widowed.

Table 1.1. Household composition of respondent groups

Household type	Respondent group					
	Metropolitan origin migrant		Nonmetropolitan origin migrant		Resident	
	— percentage —					
Primary individual only	12		12		14	
Husband-wife only	33		30		34	
Married couples with children only:	46	100	46	100	41	100
with 1 child		31		32		29
with 2 children		35		38		36
with 3 or more children		34		30		35
Respondent with children only	4		5		4	
Other household arrangements	5		7		7	
Base N	501		208		426	

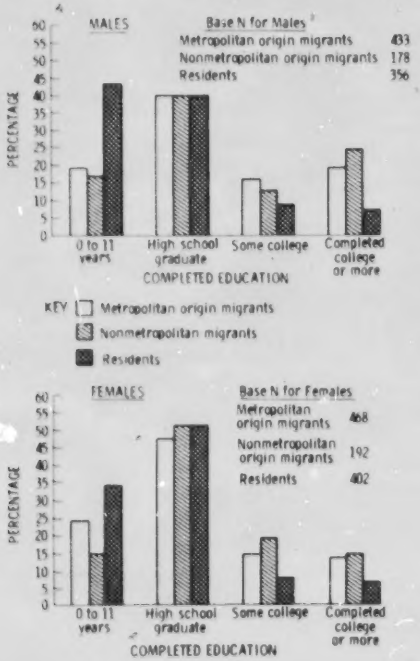
Data presented in Table 1.1 demonstrate a remarkable similarity in household composition between the migrant groups and between the migrants and residents. Married couples with children are the modal household type in all three groups of respondents, and with "husband-wife-only" families they account for close to 80 percent of the households. Virtually identical average household sizes were observed among the three groups, ranging only from 2.8 members for residents to 2.9 members for the two migrant groups. There are, however, differences with regard to the age of children in the households; less than a third of the resident households have children under 6 years of age compared to 41 percent for the metropolitan origin migrant households and 55 percent of the nonmetropolitan origin migrant households. On most of these family and household composition items the metropolitan origin migrants do not seem to stand out, and they do not have the larger families which others have pointed out as a characteristic of households moving in a nonmetropolitan direction. Nor is there much evidence of an influx of single-parent households. The typical migrant household consists of married couples, most with children, much like the pattern for the U. S. adult population as a whole. It should also be noted here, however, that the telephone sampling method could have resulted in an under-representation of migrants moving into residents' households.

Socioeconomic status

Most of our data can be presented without regard for whether the respondent is the actual head of the household, especially where data from either a head of household or a spouse may equally well index some household level characteristic, such as household composition. However, in the discussions of the three measures of socioeconomic status—education, employment status and occupation (income is considered in greater detail in Chapter 4)—the data are presented separately for all females and males, regardless of whether they were respondents or spouses. The totals upon which percentages are based then are larger than the actual numbers of interviews.

In Figure 1.2 it can be seen that migrants have considerably higher levels of formal education than the residents. Over one-third of the males in each migrant group have completed at least some college, in contrast to the resident males among whom 17 percent have attended college. To some extent, this difference is certain to reflect the age differences between the groups since younger people, in general, tend to have higher levels of education than older persons. The two migrant groups show quite similar educational distributions. Thus, regardless of origin, inmigrants are contributing to the educational levels of these growing nonmetropolitan counties.

Figure 1.2. Educational attainment by respondent group and sex



Turning to employment status, the metropolitan origin migrant inflow contains a sizeable number of retired persons, accounting for 32 percent of all male metropolitan origin migrant household heads (Table 1.2). This is consistent with current knowledge about the contribution of retirement to population turnaround in nonmetropolitan areas (Beale, 1978). As a result, male inmigrants from metropolitan counties have the lowest level of full-time employment among the males of all three groups (60 percent as compared to 69 percent for nonmetropolitan male inmigrants and 65 percent for male residents). These findings also are consistent with earlier demonstrated age differences among the groups. The youngest sample group, the migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas, shows for both males and females, the highest level of full-time labor force participation.

All employed migrants and residents were categorized as either "blue-collar," "lower white-collar," or "upper white-collar" according to a classification scheme developed by Brown (1978). It permited us to obtain a gross measure of the types of occupations migrants and residents were employed in at the time of the survey (Table 1.2). A more detailed occupational breakdown, by sex, is presented in Figure 1.3 for males and females separately. For males and females employed full time, the data in Table 1.2 indicate that both types of migrants are more likely to be employed in upper white collar occupations than are residents, and among males the nonmetropolitan origin migrants have the lowest proportion in blue-collar occupations (16 percent) and residents the highest (27 percent). On all three occupational comparisons the metropolitan origin males are the interstitial group, being much closer, occupationally, to the residents than to the nonmetropolitan origin migrants. Female residents, like resident males, tend toward lower white collar and blue-collar occupations in comparison with the migrants. Migrants in general have a much higher proportion in the upper-white collar occupations (Table 1.2). Thus, both male and female migrants seem to be an occupational asset to nonmetropolitan, high net inmigration areas of the midwest. A further breakdown of employed migrants and residents in various occupational categories is presented in Figure 1.3.

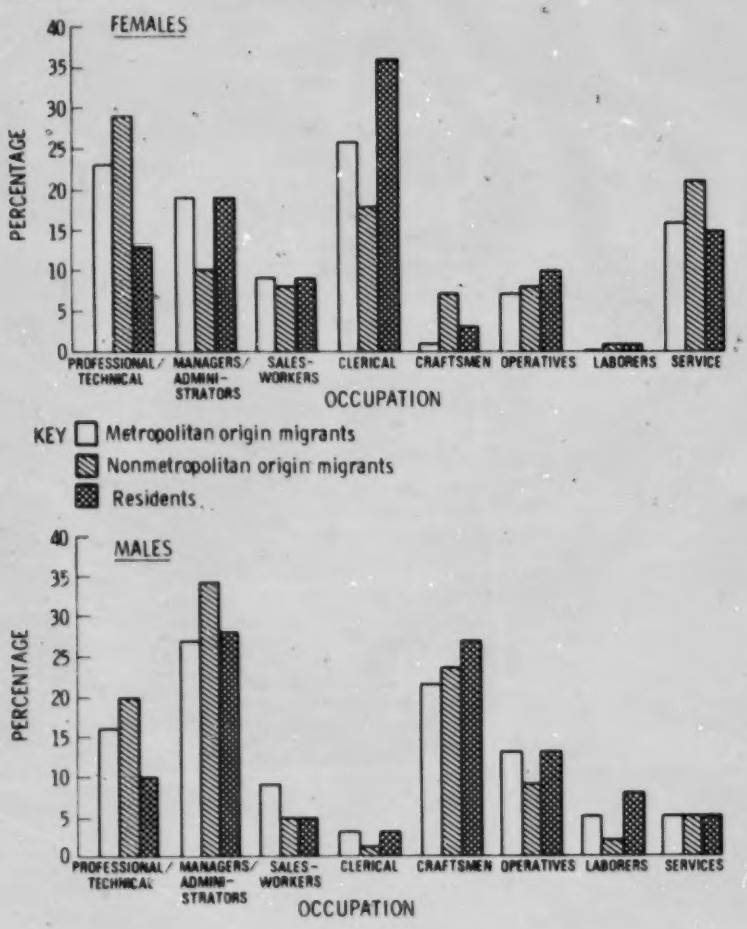
Though not presented here (see Chapter 4), data on total family income in 1976 for the three groups are consistent with the data presented so far. A majority of migrant households (51 percent for the metropolitan origin migrants and 55 percent for the nonmetropolitan origin) earn more than $10,000 a year.

In summary, we find that for each dimension of socioeconomic status presented the inmigrants are an asset to the destination area, at least when compared to area residents. They are younger, better educated, have more employed in upper white collar jobs, and have higher incomes. Certainly local variations exist, but for the region the suggested direction of compositional change would seem to be in the direction of socioeconomic upgrading.

Table 1.2. Employment status and occupation by respondent group and sex

Employment status and occupation	Respondent group and sex					
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		Residents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	— Percentage —					
Employed full time	60	23	69	35	65	22
Occupations of those employed full time:						
upper white collar	43	41	54	38	38	26
lower white collar	34	36	30	32	35	48
blue collar	23	23	16	30	27	26
Employed part time	4	12	3	12	3	13
Retired	32	18	20	10	27	24
Temporarily unemployed	2	3	4	2	2	—
Not employed, not looking for work	2	44	4	41	3	41
Base N	435	473	179	194	355	403

Figure 1.3. Occupation of those employed, by respondent group and sex



Duration of residence

The final background characteristic to be considered is duration of residence, an important indicator of the potential for integration and adaptation to the new environment for inmigrants, and for all groups, an indicator of migrational stability. As has been shown in other studies, the principle of cumulative inertia in migration suggests that the longer a person stays in one area, the less likely a person is to move from the area (for a review, see Shaw, 1975). The information obtained from the interview schedule does not allow an exact allocation of years spent in the current area for all residents. Thus, the classification scheme in Table 1.3 provides only a rough

idea of the stability of the resident population. It should be remembered that, according to the design of the study, inmigrants were defined as those who have moved in after 1970, while residents were defined in terms of having lived in their county continuously since 1970. On the average, nonmetropolitan origin migrants have a shorter duration of residence than do metropolitan origin migrants (Table 1.3). The distributions of duration of residence for the two groups do not, in themselves, tell us anything about the trend of inmigration for the two groups since the distributions are affected by both the timing of inmigration and the proportions of inmigrants who may have outmigrated before the study period. Thus, the shorter average duration of residence for nonmetropolitan origin inmigrants could reflect both an acceleration of inmigration from other nonmetropolitan areas in recent years and a higher proportion of earlier inmigrants who subsequently outmigrated.

The data suggest that the residents are a fairly stable population, with more than one-third having lived nowhere else during their lifetime and 78 percent having lived in the county continuously since 1960. The data on duration of residence establish that, first, the resident sample consists mainly of long-term residents of the area, and in that sense it is a true resident sample. And, second, the data establish that the metropolitan origin migrant sample generally consists of individuals and households which have been living in the current area of residence for a longer period of time than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants. This is a factor which will be taken into account in later discussions of differences between the two migrant types.

Table 1.3. Duration of residence by respondent group

Date of most recent inmigration or duration of residence	Respondent group		
	Metropolitan origin migrant	Nonmetropolitan origin migrant	Resident
	— percentage —		
1974-1977	47	59	—
1970-1973	53	41	—
1960-1970	—	—	22
Moved in prior to 1960 but date unknown	—	—	42
Lived entire life in current area	—	—	36
Base N	500	207	425

Summary and Discussion

Migration research has consistently demonstrated that in long distance moves there is a selectivity toward younger, higher status individuals and households. Recent surveys of migrants moving in a

nonmetropolitan direction show this generalization to be true for that particular stream as well (De Jong and Humphrey, 1976; Mitchell, 1975). The data presented here are, in general, consistent with these other surveys and with census data on the characteristics of migrants and nonmovers. We have shown, as have others, that the migrants into nonmetropolitan areas are on the average better educated, have higher incomes and occupational levels, and they have a higher incidence of households with young children than residents. Many of these differences, however, can be explained in terms of the age difference between migrants and residents. Regardless of what explains the differences, it is clear that nonmetropolitan areas are experiencing an influx of relatively younger, higher status individuals and households. The inmigrants originating in nonmetropolitan areas are not identical to those from metropolitan areas and are more different from the residents than are the metropolitan origin migrants.

Several other differences have been documented which are either minor or inconsistent with what was expected. For example, all three groups are similar on family size and, for the most part, employment status data show few differences across the sample groups. It was not expected, however, that there would be lower labor force participation among the metropolitan origin migrant males than among the resident males, especially since it has been argued and demonstrated that migrants frequently have higher levels of participation in the labor force than nonmigrants or residents (Zimmer, 1955). The data may be consistent with the higher incidence of retirement among the metropolitan origin migrant males but not with the age differences among the samples. For some reason the resident males, even though they are older, have higher employment levels than the metropolitan origin migrants. This difference may well reflect a higher level of self-employment among nonmetropolitan resident males or a less rigid adherence to retirement age by employers.

Considerable speculation about the eventual transformation of rural America has emerged from comparisons between inmigrants and residents. Any generalizations based on the present data would permit only a partial view of the overall compositional changes which are occurring in rural areas as a result of metropolitan origin inmigration. A complete assessment of the net effects of migration on rural areas would, by necessity, have to take into account the characteristics of the different inmigrant streams, as well as the characteristics of outmigrants. The present research has been able to address the questions of whether the inmigrant streams, from metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, into the sample counties consist of households and individuals who are different from the residents of those counties, and if they are, in what ways. Since there is no comparable sample of nonmetropolitan outmigrants from our sample counties, no precise estimate of overall demographic change is possible. The comparisons permit us to look at the possible

changes being introduced by two segments of the inmigrant stream but not at the changes resulting from outmigration from the sampled nonmetropolitan areas.

Recent aggregate analysis has made considerable progress on addressing the question of compositional change at the national level. That research, using secondary migration data for the nation as a whole, demonstrates that metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migrants are younger, better educated, and likely to have higher occupational status than nonmetropolitan residents. Outmigrants from nonmetropolitan areas are, in turn, more like the inmigrants than the residents, or nonmovers (Zuiches and Brown, 1978). But, detailed regional analyses have yet to be undertaken and much survey research has to be conducted to provide insights into the new trend, beyond what can be inferred from selected migrant and nonmover characteristics at the national level. The present data set provides the opportunity for exploring questions which go beyond demographic comparisons and which can only be addressed with survey data.

Chapter 2

ORIGIN AND DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANTS

Andrew J. Sofranko, Frederick C. Fliegel,
and James D. Williams

Little is known specifically about the origins and destinations of metroplitan origin migrants: how far they move, the types of places they are leaving, and the types of places and residences they are choosing in nonmetropolitan destinations. Various types of residential shift could be involved. The popular conception is that the migrant stream originates in central cities and relocates in small places and the countryside. Another of the more popular conceptions of the turnaround in growth of rural areas is that it reflects a widespread desire to get "back to the land" in the forms of farm and country living. Case studies of families who have traded apartments for farms and open country living have provided the essential documentation for this view, and the media and opinion polls demonstrating a widespread desire to move to rural areas have done much to promote it. But there is scant knowledge of whether farm and country living are isolated or widespread phenomena among recent migrants.

This chapter focuses on migrants' places of origin and destination. Specific examinations will look at measures which permit at least an approximate determination of the distance the migrants have moved, the sizes of the places of origin and destination, the proportions moving from and to places of various sizes and the relationship, between the sizes of places of origin and destination. Finally, an attempt will be made to pinpoint more fully the residential distribution of migrants within nonmetropolitan areas by delineating destinations on the basis of whether they are within or outside the corporate limits of a community. For those residing outside the corporate limits, a determination will be made as to whether they are farm or open-country, non-farm residents. This analysis will address the question of just how many, and who, among the migrants are going "back to the land."

In these analyses metropolitan origin migrants will be compared with the nonmetropolitan origin migrant subsample, and on the residential distribution part of the analysis they will be compared with the resident sample as well. These comparisons will provide the means with which to evaluate the uniqueness of metropolitan origin migrants.

How Far Have Migrants Moved?

A frequently expressed concern about the population turnaround is that it may be no more than an aspect of the suburbanization

page 32-Blank

phenomenon, that is, mer[illegible] a product of further and continued residential decentralization. This "adjacency effect" suggests that many people are simply moving across county lines into nonmetropolitan counties and in the process being defined as part of the rural migration trend. In effect, it is argued that much of the trend may be blamed on record keeping and boundary-drawing procedures. This line of reasoning finds some support in residential preference surveys showing that while small town and rural residences are highly desirable, close proximity to a large urban place also is highly preferred. (Zuiches and Fuguitt, 1976).

Other evidence would suggest, however, that the trend involves more than urban decentralization as evidenced by the high net inmigration rates in many nonadjacent counties. This evidence, though, may not be very convincing at a more micro-level where some of the strong pull factors associated with amenities in the more distant nonmetropolitan areas may not be operating. At the regional level, for example, the trend may consist largely of short distance moves, if not to a nearby county then at least within the same state.

Assessing how far migrants move is difficult. Early attempts to have migrants report the distance they moved have resulted in widely varying estimates—even between identical points of origin and destination. For this reason, two objective measures of distance have been used: first, the location of the destination county—whether adjacent or nonadjacent to the county of origin; and, second, the location of origin—whether migrants originated within the same state, outside the state but within the region, or outside the region.

Destination location

The data on destination locations for the metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migrants in the survey disconfirm any notions of a super-suburbanization phenomenon. Only 8 percent have moved to a nonmetropolitan county adjacent to the metropolitan county of their former residence, suggesting that by and large the new migration, in the North Central Region at least, comprises more than short-distance moves (Table 2.1). By comparison, the nonmetropolitan origin migrants are much more oriented toward short-distance moves; nearly half (47 percent) of this particular sample of migrants consists of individuals who have simply moved to an adjoining county.

Location of origin

Although the metropolitan origin migrants are certainly not moving to counties next door, a good portion (62 percent) has moved within the state (Table 2.1). Still, a much higher proportion (78 percent) of the nonmetropolitan origin movers moved within the state

Table 2.1. Location of origin and destination counties, by migrant type

	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Destination location				
In a county adjacent to origin county	41	8	97	47
In a county not adjacent to origin county	459	92	111	53
Total	500	100	208	100
Location of origin				
Within state of destination	310	62	163	78
Outside state of destination				
Within region	119	24	21	10
Outside region	72	14	24	12
Total	501	100	208	100

in which they were living, which is consistent with the data reporting their high incidence of moves to nearby, adjacent counties. As to where the interstate metropolitan origin migrants originated, they can be described as coming mostly from other states in the North Central Region—almost two-thirds of those crossing state lines came from within the region. The remainder—about 14 percent of the total sample—came from metropolitan areas outside the region and not from any one region in particular. The nonmetropolitan origin migrants are as likely to come from outside the region as from within it—if they are not intra-state movers. More than half (53 percent) of the interstate nonmetropolitan origin movers came from counties beyond the region and primarily from the Western states.

On the basis of these data the metropolitan origin migrant sample can be characterized as consisting of proportionally few local or very long-distance movers, with a slight majority of the movers coming from within the state. The nonmetropolitan origin inmigrants, though, do not fit this pattern. They are moving, by and large, from one nonmetropolitan county to another within the state.

Sizes of Places of Origin and Destination

By definition, metropolitan areas contain not only cities and suburbs but also open countryside and small towns as well. The distinguishing feature of these more rural portions of the metropolitan area is their proximity to a city of 50,000 or more. Conceivably, some portion of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrant stream is originating not in the central city of the metropolitan areas, as popular conceptions tend to suggest, but in the more rural and suburban portions of metropolitan areas.

The size of place of *origin*, based on 1970 population data, was coded for each migrant using his or her stated name of place of origin. The distributions on this measure, presented in Table 2.2, provide sufficient evidence to satisfy both the proponents of "flight from the city" arguments and those arguing for a more general outmigration from highly urbanized areas. A little more than a third (34 percent) of the metropolitan origin migrants came from large cities (250,000 or larger) and altogether more than 60 percent originated in metropolitan cities (over 50,000). Some did, however, move from smaller places within the metropolitan areas. Overall, a little more than a third (38 percent) of the metropolitan origin migrants originated in places no larger than those from which the sample of nonmetropolitan origin migrants came, the probable difference being only that of proximity to a large urban center. About 11 percent originated in small towns and villages in the metropolitan area which, incidentally, residential preference surveys have shown to be the ideal desired type of residence—in a small town but close to a city.

By definition, the nonmetropolitan origin migrants originated in different types of places than the metropolitan origin migrants, and for that reason the two sample distributions on size of former place of residence cannot be compared. It can only be pointed out that most (67 percent) of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants lived formerly in small and medium-sized towns. Relatively fewer came from either villages or large towns (Table 2.2).

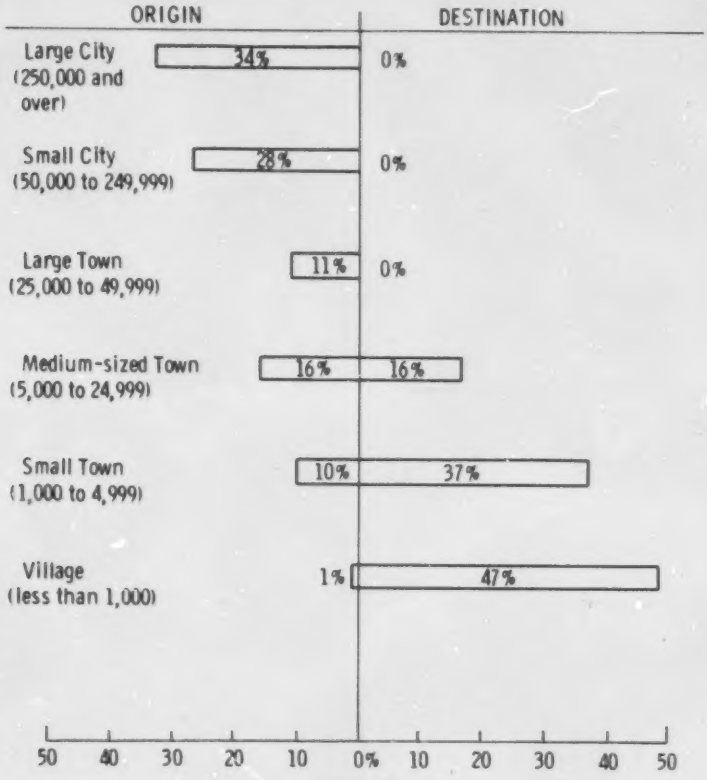
The size of *current* place of residence was also coded for each respondent in order to establish the types of places in which migrants were relocating. In the following discussion, references to the types of places identified in Table 2.2 are not meant to imply that all migrants are living in these places. It might be more accurate to suggest they live *in or near* these places, which respondents identified. Later in the chapter we will look at what portions of the migrants are actually living outside the corporate limits of their current named place of residence.

Turning to places of destination, almost half (47 percent) of the metropolitan origin migrants are living in or near small villages; more than 80 percent are in or near places with less than 5,000 population (Table 2.2). A comparison of the distributions on origin and destination shows that more than a shift to a slightly smaller place is involved in the new migration turnaround. There is no evidence that former city dwellers have chosen those places which one would assume to be most similar to the types of places they left behind, the larger towns in nonmetropolitan areas. The shift is clearly into the smallest places (see Figure 2.1). The same type of shift is involved among the nonmetropolitan origin movers, but there is more evidence for a movement down a size-of-place hierarchy. Comparing distributions on the former and current residences, for example, there is a substantial reduction in proportions living in the two largest size-of-place categories and a doubling of the proportion living in villages.

Table 2.2. Distribution of migrants by size of place (or nearest place) in origin and destination locations, and distribution of residents by current size of place

Size of place	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		Residents
	Origin	Destination	Origin	Destination	Current Place of residence
	— Percentage —				
Village (less than 1,000)	1	47	20	39	44
Small town (1,000 to 4,999)	10	37	34	36	36
Medium size town (5,000 to 24,999)	16	16	33	22	18
Large town (25,000 to 49,000)	11	—	13	3	2
Small city (50,000 to 249,000)	28	—	—	—	—
Large city (250,000 and over)	34	—	—	—	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 2.1. Distribution of metropolitan origin migrants by size of place in origin and destination locations



In terms of current place of residence, both samples of migrants can thus be described as village and small town oriented. They are so dominantly village and small town that a cross-tabulation of size of place of origin with size of place of destination, which was intended to determine whether former residence might be a predisposing factor in destination selection, yielded the obvious. Regardless of the size of place migrants came from, the modal category for their current residence identification was the village. As shall be discovered shortly, however, identification based on place name does not mean that the respondents actually resided in the identified location.

Furthermore, in terms of size of place distributions, the two migrant samples are quite comparable to the residents in the survey (Table 2.2). The importance of this comparability will become more obvious later in the research when the three samples are compared on various measures for which the size of place of residence may be an important consideration.

Residential Location in Rural Destinations

An attempt was made to further specify the types of residential locations in which migrants have settled. The following discussion uses several questions in the survey which asked if respondents were currently living *within* or *outside* the corporate limits of their present places of residence and whether or not they were living on a farm or ranch. Additional questions, which were tailored to the agricultural census definition of a farm, were asked of those who indicated farm residence. Responses on questions pertaining to acreage and farm sales permit a closer examination of the incidence of farm living and allow one to address the general question of whether metropolitan migrants are "returning to the land"—to an agricultural way of life. This is a theme which crops up with considerable frequency in discussions of the new migration trend.

It is the case that two-thirds (66 percent) of the sample of metropolitan origin migrants have chosen to live outside the corporate limits of any town or village in the growth counties under study (see Table 2.3). This compares with 56 percent of the sample of long-term residents and only 54 percent of nonmetropolitan origin migrants (data not shown in Table 2.3) living outside incorporated places. Metropolitan origin migrants in the region are, then, more rural in their residence patterns than the other sampled populations and this serves to underscore the "back to the land" notion as a possible explanatory theme. Most of the country dwellers are rural in only a technical sense, however, as will be demonstrated later.

Evidence for a "back to the land" movement

Metropolitan origin migrants are moving for amenity reasons to a greater extent than has been the case in recent decades, and it is tempting to characterize those amenities in terms of ties to the land

Table 2.3. Location of dwelling for metropolitan origin migrant and rural resident households

Location	Metropolitan origin migrants	Residents
	— Percentage —	
Within corporate limits	34	44
Outside corporate limits	66	56
Total	100	100
For households outside corporate limits only:		
Open country nonfarm	71	47
On a farm (but not farming)	20	30
On a farm (and farming)	9	23
Total	100	100
Base N	476	410

as well as to open space and outdoor recreation. Newspaper accounts of urbanites establishing small farms serve to highlight the "back to the land" theme as well, and it is true that fully two-thirds of the present sample of metropolitan origin migrants have chosen to settle outside the corporate limits of any town or village.

The present section explores the "back to the land" theme as a possible explanation of the new migration. Physically returning to a former place of residence will be explored separately as a possible explanatory theme for the new migration in a later chapter. Here the discussion centers on the more symbolic aspects of returning to a more agrarian way of life. To organize the material, those metropolitan origin migrants who live outside the limits of incorporated places were divided into three categories: (1) open-country, nonfarm residents; (2) farm residents who do not farm; and (3) farm residents who sell some farm products. These groupings, arrayed in order of increasing involvement with land, will be compared with each other on several characteristics and with the metropolitan origin migrants living in town and the long-term residents. All comparisons are based on data for households and household heads rather than the particular respondent who happened to be interviewed.

Open-country, nonfarm residents of metropolitan origin: Seventy-one percent of those metropolitan origin migrants who live in the open country are not living on farms, as shown in the lower half of Table 2.3. In contrast, more than half (53 percent) of the country dwelling long-term residents live on farms. The distinction between farm and nonfarm residence alone, then, forces one to conclude that the "back to the land" theme, at least in a literal sense, is of little importance for most metropolitan origin migrant households. In comparison with long-term residents, they can be described as favoring the countryside but not the farm.

Furthermore, almost 60 percent of the open-country nonfarm households of metropolitan origin live within 5 miles or less of the center of the nearest town and 50 percent are within 10 minutes driving time of their places of employment. The bulk of the metropolitan origin open-country residents are thus clustered near towns, and in terms of standard socioeconomic measures they are no different from the metropolitan origin migrants who chose to live in town. Both groups, however, are quite different from the long-term residents, who tend to be older, less educated, and more blue collar, occupationally.

Turning more explicitly to the "back to the land" theme, there is little evidence of either returning to anything, or nostalgia regarding such a return among the open-country, nonfarm residents. The open-country, nonfarm migrants from metropolitan areas are less likely than metropolitan origin migrants living in town to have grown up on a farm (26 percent as compared with 32 percent), and less likely to have lived in the area before (26 percent versus 37 per-

cent for household heads, with very similar percentages for spouses). Metropolitan origin migrants who choose to live in open-country, nonfarm settings also are highly favorable to population growth and economic development. They are clearly not attempting to settle in an area and then protect it from further growth. In short, there is no evidence in these data that they are "going back" in the sense of trying to recreate a pastoral life style which may have characterized some former generation.

Farm residents of metropolitan origin who do not farm: Living in the country, for some portion of our sample of metropolitan origin migrants, means living on a farm but not necessarily engaging in agricultural production. It was noted earlier that 71 percent of the metropolitan origin migrants living outside incorporated places are in an open-country, nonfarm setting. Of the remaining 29 percent, the balance of the country dwellers, about two out of three, claim farm residence but do not engage in farming (Table 2.3), which is defined by a self-reported item asking if any farm products had been sold in the previous year. Families in the metropolitan origin farm-as-residence category possess significant amounts of land, with about half of all households having holdings of less than 25 acres. But as many as 15 percent are holding 150 acres or more. The land, though, is not being farmed.

Metropolitan origin migrants who choose to live on a farm for residential purposes only are sharply different from other metropolitan origin migrants in a variety of respects. They are dominantly in blue collar and service occupations (76 percent) which contrasts sharply with the rest of the metropolitan origin migrant sample (39 percent blue collar and service). With respect to occupation, the farm-as-residence migrants are much more like country-dwelling residents than other metropolitan origin migrants. Similarly, with respect to education, they typically have no more than a high school education (84 percent) again much like the long term residents and unlike metropolitan origin migrants as a whole. They might be described as blue-collar exurbanites, but they do not seem to be going "back to the land" in a literal sense.

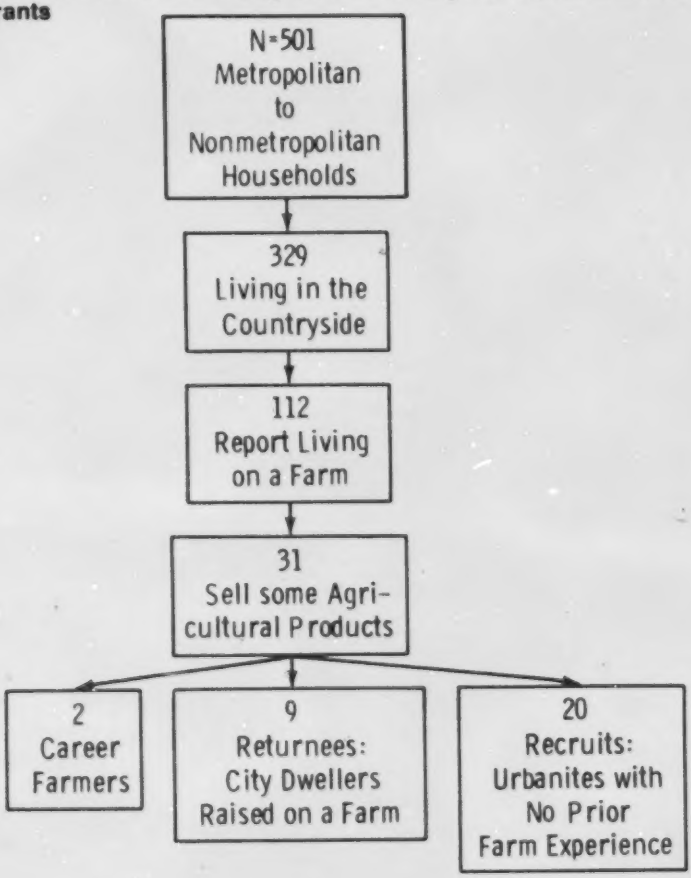
A distinctive characteristic of the farm-as-residence households is the incidence of experience with living on a farm. Two thirds (67 percent) have lived on a farm previously; 26 percent grew up on a farm, and the balance have lived on a farm at some later point in their lives. Households in the metropolitan origin farm-as-residence category are thus substantially opting for life in the country as a continuation of something they have known before, rather than making a radical shift from life in the metropolis to a farm residence.

How does the above description of the farm-as-residence category of metropolitan origin migrants relate to the back-to-the-land question? They have invested in land and are thus by definition more oriented to the land than the other migrant categories; most of them

have prior experience with country life, but they are, by definition, not pursuing an agricultural way of life.

Metropolitan origin migrants as farmers: Finally, there is a small but interesting group of metropolitan origin households engaged in agriculture. They make up 9 percent of the metropolitan origin country dwellers (see Table 2.3) and 6 percent of the metropolitan origin migrant sample as a whole. They are of interest because more than half of them (53 percent) have no prior farm experience and may thus be going back to the land only in the sense of returning to something their forebears may have known. The balance are going back in a different sense; they have lived on a farm before, mostly in their early years, and they are now taking up farming again. Figure 2.2 presents a summary of the involvement of metropolitan origin migrants in agriculture in their destinations.

Figure 2.2. Involvement in agriculture among metropolitan origin migrants



Except for the involvement with agriculture, which is definitely a secondary occupation, most of the heads of households considered here have characteristics much like those of the metropolitan origin town or open-country dwellers. Their principal occupations tend to be in the white collar category, they are relatively well educated, they even average somewhat higher in family income than the average for all metropolitan origin migrants.

They are rather different, though, from the long-term resident sample, especially the farm portion of that sample. Part-time farming is the norm for all farmers in our samples, but the metropolitan origin farmers have smaller farms than those of long-term residents and are substantially more likely to be younger, better educated, and hold white collar off-farm jobs than long-term resident farmers. The immediate point, however, is that a small influx of metropolitan origin farmers is occurring in the growth counties under study, and they are in many respects different from farmers in the area.

Summary and Discussion

The data provide an overview of the origins and destinations of migrants and of the residential changes their moves entailed. In summary, it has been shown that the metropolitan origin migrants are not local movers simply shifting in a more nonmetropolitan direction. They differ in that respect from the nonmetropolitan origin movers, a good portion of whom are short-distance movers. A majority of both samples are, however, intra-state migrants.

It also has been shown that there is considerable variability in the types of places the metropolitan origin migrants left. Clearly a majority of the metropolitan origin migrants left cities and other large urban places, but a small portion originated in the less urban portions of the metropolitan area. Thus, one cannot easily argue that the metropolitan origin migrants are a homogeneous stream with respect to size of place of origin; certainly not all are fleeing large central cities. Perhaps they could be described more accurately as fleeing the metropolitan area, if they are fleeing at all. There is not much evidence either that the migrants are homogeneous with respect to the size of places in which they are locating. They are settling in or near different sized places, although mostly near villages and small towns.

It also has been shown that with respect to residential location, metropolitan origin migrants, in contrast to nonmetropolitan origin migrants, have opted for more rural residences and in contrast to residents, much larger portions of metropolitan origin migrants live outside the corporate limits of a village or town. A brief digression into whether the penchant for rural living constituted a back-to-the-land movement produced evidence that only about 6 percent of the entire metropolitan origin migrant sample could be characterized as fitting the "back to the land" theme. These households are not only a small fraction of the total migrant stream but are too few in

number to permit much generalization. Nevertheless, they provide a clearer perspective on urbanites' involvement in agriculture than the purely anecdotal accounts available thus far.

It is clear that the nonagricultural aspects of living in the country are the major attractions for migrants from metropolitan areas in the North Central Region. The appeal of the land and active use of the land for agricultural production can be described as a minor sub-theme within the larger theme of life in the country or small town which attracts metropolitan origin migrants. Nevertheless, even a partial off-setting of the very substantial movement out of agriculture which has been going on for decades should not be ignored. Returning to the land may not appeal to many in metropolitan areas, but the migration of even a few can have notable consequences for thinly populated rural areas.

Chapter 3

MOTIVATIONS AND MIGRATION DECISIONS

Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams

The basic question being raised about the current population turnaround concerns the motivations which underlie metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants' decisions to move. A variety of explanations has been advanced to account for their leaving metropolitan areas, ranging from a deterioration in the quality of urban life, rejection of urban lifestyles, and a desire to get "back to the land," to more conventional economic-employment explanations. While the questions of "why" have been dominating discussions of the new trend, the equally important question of why metropolitan-origin migrants are moving where they are has been largely ignored. The thinking is that the reason for migrating and destination questions are opposite sides of the same issue: an understanding of why individuals are moving provides the explanation for relocation decisions. One of the guiding principles of this research has been the notion that these are two quite distinct decision-making issues. Reasons for leaving and for destination selection need not be equivalent and, according to some research evidence, they quite likely are not.

This chapter focuses on various aspects of these two issues—the reason for leaving the metropolitan area and the reason for choosing the nonmetropolitan destination. This examination of reasons will provide useful insights into the causes of the "population turnaround" and raise questions about the generalizability of the dominant mode of explaining migration decisions.

Explanations for Moving

The prevailing view in migration research is that economic, and particularly empolyment-related motivations, underlie most long-distance moves and destination selections (Ritchey, 1976; Greenwood, 1975). This perspective has been reinforced by secondary data analyses of attributes of areas of origin and destination as predictors of in- and outmigration, by analyses of the composition of migration streams and of reasons provided by migrants in surveys. A common tendency has been to focus on structural characteristics or origins and destinations and from there infer migrant motives. The relative availability of secondary economic, and particularly employment, data for a variety of areal units may have helped

shape the prevailing view of man as a maximizer of economic wants and of economic motivations as the major causal factor in the migration process (Shaw, 1975:57).

Data on the composition of migration streams and patterns of selectivity by such variables as age, education, and skill level have also been interpreted within this general economic model. While a bias may be involved in inferring motives from secondary data and from the composition of migrant streams, survey data have reinforced the view that employment considerations are the basic stimuli in the migration process. In past surveys of migrants, a majority of respondents have consistently cited work-related reasons for moving (Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Price and Sikes, 1975; Long and Hansen, 1979). Noneconomic explanations have not been ignored in past research. But, residential and environmental amenities, including climate, social ties, and various cultural "pull" factors, have almost always receded in importance when viewed against the evidence for the importance of income and employment factors. Previous surveys of reasons for migration have clearly emphasized the role of jobs and job changes as the single best descriptor of motivations for longer distance moves.

The new migration

The recent population reversal has forced a reassessment of explanations for moving and for selecting destination areas. Because much of the new migration stream consists of groups for which economic reasons are not particularly obvious and is directed toward destination areas presumed to be rich in quality-of-life amenities, there is speculation that the economic-employment factor has diminished as an influence in migration, at least for the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream. But the basic question of whether there is any distinctiveness to the current metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream is still unanswered. Are the motivations of migrants actually at variance with the dominant labor force models of migration? If so, is the difference due to the stream's composition, which may be composed of significant numbers of individuals for whom labor-force models were never meant to apply, such as the elderly, or to diminished importance of employment criteria in migration decision making?

The objective here is to examine, in light of existing migration research and in comparison with a group of nonmetropolitan origin migrants, the relative importance of various reasons metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants give for leaving their former residences. To establish whether there is any uniqueness to their response patterns, metropolitan origin migrants will be compared with migrants who have recently moved into the same counties from other nonmetropolitan areas. The implicit hypothesis is that if metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migration is a function of

disaffection with larger urban areas, or "longing" for the amenities in more rural areas, such reasons should be more evident in the reason structure of metropolitan origin migrants than of non-metropolitan origin migrants. To examine whether the results of the analysis of reasons are misleading because of the composition of the samples, separate analyses will be conducted for the portions of the samples that are of labor force age. If the new migration is being generated by motivations that are different from those which characterized long-distance moves in the past, the metropolitan origin migrant sample should exhibit a response pattern at variance with findings from prior migration research and the responses of the alternative sample of migrants. Moreover, the pattern should be borne out even after restricting the comparisons to samples similar to those which have shaped the prevailing view of migration stimuli, those at labor force ages.

Analysis of Migrants' Motivations for Moving

A six-category scheme was used to classify reasons for leaving the former area of residence. In the survey all migrants were asked to give their reasons for leaving their former place of residence and then to identify the main reason. Initially, all reasons were recorded verbatim and then coded into a six-category scheme. Later the *main* reasons were then coded into the following categories:

(1) **Employment Related:** includes all job transfers; moves for reasons of unemployment or underemployment; searches for new, better, and different employment; higher wages, etc.

(2) **Ties to Area of Destination:** includes responses indicating a desire to return to area of birth or of former residence, to an area with which the respondent was familiar, or in which he/she had friends or relatives, would be close to friends or family, or had property.

(3) **Environmental "Push" Factors:** includes all responses citing negative attributes of the previous residence, ranging from the quite general ("get away from the city," or, in the case of some of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, "get out of the small town"), to the very specific.

(4) **Environmental "Pull" Factors:** responses were coded as "pull" if they specified some attractive feature of the place of destination, the important consideration being that the area of destination was the referrent.

(5) **Retirement:** includes all who gave retirement as the main reason.

(6) **Other reasons:** includes infrequently mentioned miscellaneous reasons such as health, divorce, marriage, schooling, as well as those who "just wanted to move."

In presenting the distributions of reasons given for leaving the

metropolitan residence, two comparisons are important: first, migrants from metropolitan areas with migrants from nonmetropolitan areas, and second, the total sample of migrants with the households in which the head is of working age. The first permits an assessment of the uniqueness of the metropolitan origin migrants' reasons for leaving their former residences. If urban "push" and rural "pull" factors are as important as they are hypothesized to be for the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan flow, such responses should be more frequent among the metropolitan origin migrants. The second comparison, which uses the age of the household head to delineate the labor force population in the sample, permits a direct analysis of reasons for those persons for whom economic and labor mobility models are intended. The data for making these two comparisons are presented in Table 3.1.

Looking first at the data for the total metropolitan origin migrant sample, for about 75 percent of the households reasons other than employment were cited for leaving the former residence (Table 3.1). The most frequently cited type of reason, "environmental push factors," is the single most important motivation underlying the decision to leave the metropolitan residence. If the environmental push and pull reasons are combined to represent environmental or site characteristics, for 40 percent of the metropolitan origin households these were the most important reasons for migrating. They are much more important than employment-related reasons (24 percent). In clear contrast, data for inmigrants from nonmetropolitan counties show a substantial proportion (46 percent) reporting employment-related reasons for leaving their prior residence. For this sample, environmental push and pull factors account for only about 20 percent of the moves. The data further show that, for the metropolitan origin migrant stream, "retirement" is an important reason, accounting for about 17 percent of the moves. And as expected, it is a less important reason among the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, accounting for 10 percent of all moves.

In comparison with past migration research, the reason structure of the metropolitan origin stream is quite different and clearly unlike that for the nonmetropolitan origin stream. The data for the latter stream is much more consistent with labor force models of migration. There is some basis for concluding that the metropolitan origin stream is unique, and that for this particular flow labor force models are relatively inappropriate to the findings. Before any firm conclusions can be reached about the utility of such models in understanding the turnaround, there is a need to restrict the analysis to that segment of the sample to which labor force models apply, in particular the population of labor force age. That segment is operationalized here as households with heads aged 18 to 59.

The relative reduction in sample sizes, when the analysis is restricted to those in households with heads aged 18 to 59, shows that the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan flow is much older than

Table 3.1. Reason for leaving previous residence, by migrant type for total samples and for households with head aged 18-59

Type of reason	Total samples				Household heads aged 18-59			
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Employment related	122	24	96	46	115	35	90	57
Ties to area of destination	37	8	27	13	21	6	13	8
Environmental "push" factors	130	26	15	7	95	29	15	9
Environmental "pull" factors	71	14	25	12	50	15	17	11
Retirement	86	17	20	10	14	4	3	2
Other reasons	54	11	24	12	37	11	21	13
No response	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Total	501	100	208	100	333	100	159	100

the nonmetropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan flow. Persons over 59 account for about a third of the metropolitan origin flow and a fourth of the nonmetropolitan origin flow (Table 3.1). However, some retirees are still found in both streams (4 percent and 2 percent, respectively). Because the reduction in sample sizes is considerably greater than the number in the total sample who stated they moved because they had retired, it can be concluded that the total metropolitan origin sample contains a sizable number of persons over 60 moving for reasons other than retirement. Perhaps they represent some stage of pre-retirement, moving to these areas in anticipation of retirement.

Restricting the analysis to respondents in households with heads 18-59 does alter the distribution of reasons (Table 3.1). Metropolitan origin respondents in these households cite employment-related reasons (35 percent) more often than any other type of reason. Push factors, also relatively important, were cited by 29 percent of the households. If the environmental push and pull factors are combined, as was done previously, to obtain some rough measure of the importance of "quality of life" or site criteria in migrating, there is still a high portion (44 percent) citing these reasons. Thus, the major underlying motivations of households do not change dramatically when labor-force age is specified. The nonmetropolitan origin households' reasons continue to stand in clear contrast to those of metropolitan origin households. As was observed for the total sample, employment reasons continue to predominate (57 percent).

The evidence presented in Table 3.1 presents a convincing case that the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream is characterized by migration decision making on the basis of environmental and site characteristics or amenities and to a lesser extent on the basis of employment-related factors. It is particularly noteworthy that a separate breakdown of reasons for households with a working-age head does not affect this interpretation of the findings. Differences between metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants are considerable, with the latter much more likely to move for the conventional employment reasons. In general, the overall findings are consistent with the argument that the population turnaround is a function of the diminished attractiveness of urban areas and the increased attractiveness of rural areas. In general, it is rooted more in environmental factors than in employment.

To provide more insight into the reasons migrants gave for leaving the metropolitan area, a further elaboration on the original six-category scheme was devised. The original classifications were retained but with additional breakdowns to permit a closer examination of the importance of various specific reasons for the move. In Table 3.2 it is possible to determine, first, the overall importance of any given reason in each migrant sample, and second the importance of any reason for the category under which it is subsumed. Within the general "employment related" category, for example, the

Table 3.2. Distributions of detailed reasons for migrating from the metropolitan residence for total sample and for households with head aged 18-59

Type of reason	Total sample			Households heads aged 18-59		
	No.	Total distribution %	Distribution within type of reason %	No.	Total distribution %	Distribution within type of reason %
1. Employment Related:	**122**	**24**	**100**	**115**	**35**	**100**
Job transfer	34	7	28	33	10	29
Look for /located other employ.	42	8	34	41	12	36
Unemployed/underemployed	16	3	13	15	5	13
Went into farming	14	3	12	13	4	11
Moved closer to employment	14	3	12	12	4	10
Other employment related	2	0	1	1	0	1
2. Ties to Area of Destination:	**37**	**7**	**100**	**21**	**6**	**100**
Closer to relatives/friends	13	2	35	6	2	29
Prior residence in area	16	3	43	10	3	48
Familiarity with area	0	0	0	0	0	0
Owned property in area	8	2	22	5	1	24
Other ties	0	0	0	0	0	0
3. Environmental Push Factors:	**130**	**26**	**100**	**95**	**29**	**100**
General push factors	9	2	7	5	2	5
General push: anti-urban	63	13	49	47	14	50
Specific push factors:						
Crime/safety	14	3	11	9	3	10
Environmental quality	25	5	19	21	6	22
Cost of living	8	1	6	5	2	5
Other specific push	11	2	8	8	2	8
4. Environmental Pull Factors:	**71**	**14**	**100**	**50**	**15**	**100**
General pull factors	10	2	14	6	2	12
General pull: pro-rural	35	7	49	26	8	52
Specific pull factors:						
Crime/safety	0	0	0	0	0	0
Environmental quality	1	0	1	0	0	0
Cost of living	1	0	2	1	0	2
Other specific pull	24	5	34	17	5	34
5. Retirement	**86**	**17**	**100**	**14**	**4**	**100**
6. Other reasons	**54**	**11**	**100**	**37**	**11**	**100**

reason indicating a move to "look for work," or because other work had been located, was given by 8 percent of the total metropolitan origin migrant sample and by more than a third (34 percent) of the metropolitan origin migrants giving employment reasons. Of those who gave employment reasons for moving, most (62 percent) said they left the metropolitan residence either because they were transferred or moved to look for work. Relatively few left to go into farming (12 percent), as was seen in Chapter 2, or to be closer to employment (12 percent).

Of particular interest in Table 3.2 are the distributions on the detailed environmental "push" and "pull" factors which are two of the main underlying motivations for the new migration trend. Over all, environmental push reasons were given by 26 percent of the total sample of metropolitan origin migrants, but of all the persons citing push reasons, almost half (49 percent) gave a general anti-urban response, such as "too many restrictions in the city," "wanted to get away from the city," or "got tired of the big city." Similarly, if an individual gave a pull reason it would most likely be a general "pro-rural" response such as "liked the open areas," "wanted the rural life," or "just liked the country." Almost half (49 percent) of those giving "pull" reasons expressed a general, pro-rural sentiment. Relatively few mentioned specific pull factors, and those who did mentioned a wide variety of attractions in the new area of residence. Restricting the total sample to only those households with heads between 18 and 59, as was done in Table 3.1, affects some of the gross category proportions, but it does not particularly affect the proportions reporting the various reasons within categories (Table 3.2).

Further Evidence for the Motivations of Metropolitan Origin Migrants

The data presented so far support the initial supposition that metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migration is characterized by a motivational base at variance with much of the existing research on long-distance migration. The findings suggest that the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream in the current study is composed of persons moving more for environmental considerations than for employment reasons. The further delineation of households on the basis of the age of household head did not alter the overall research findings.

Additional analyses were undertaken in which an attempt was made to specify some logical concomitant conditions that would be associated with moving for nonemployment reasons. It was felt that these conditions, if demonstrated, would provide yet additional support for or against the earlier findings.

The first condition concerned the relationship between the reason for leaving the metropolitan area and size of place of residence

prior to leaving. The underlying reasoning was that if disenchantment with large urban areas is one of the strong motivations for moving, there should be a strong relationship between reason for moving and size of former place of residence. More specifically, those moving for noneconomic, environmental reasons should come disproportionately from the largest places. The second condition was based on the assumption that the reason for leaving the metropolitan area should be related to size of place of destination. Specifically, those wanting to "get away from big city life" or who "wanted country living" would be most likely to go toward the smaller towns and villages while those moving for employment reasons might move to larger towns to maximize employment opportunities.

The final condition concerned the possibility that even though there is evidence of moving for reasons other than employment, metropolitan origin migrants may be as likely to improve themselves economically as migrants who are moving for economic-employment reasons. At issue here is whether those moving for environmental reasons are more or less likely to have improved their incomes than those moving explicitly for jobs, better jobs, etc. If they are less likely, there would be some evidence for a trade-off where amenities are maximized at the expense of income.

To simplify the analysis, the environmental push and environmental pull reasons were combined into a single category which is referred to as "environmental influences." This seems to best represent the antithesis of "employment reasons," which is retained as a separate category. The remaining types of reasons were placed in a residual category which can also be viewed broadly as a set of nonemployment reasons. Thus, in the following analyses a three-category reason scheme will be used, and the analyses will be restricted to those metropolitan origin migrant households with heads aged 18-59.

Reasons and places of origin

By and large, cross classifying size of place of origin by reason for leaving yields the expected result, as shown in Table 3.3. Nearly half (46 percent) of those who left for environmental reasons come from the largest cities, compared with only 27 percent for those moving for employment reasons. The relationship, however, is not completely monotonic, and the pattern is not as consistent as was expected. Metropolitan origin migrants from the intermediate size cities (50,000 to 250,000 population) were less likely to give environmental reasons than those moving from the smaller towns in the metropolitan area.

The consistent relationship between employment-based reasons and size of place of origin is also interesting: the smaller the size of place, the more likely metropolitan origin migrants were to cite employment reasons for moving.

Table 3.3. Population of city of origin (1970) by reason for leaving, metropolitan origin migrant households with head aged 18-59

Reason for leaving		Size of place of origin (1970)			
		Under 50,000	50,000-250,000	250,000+	Total
All Households[a]	(N)	119	91	113	323
	(%)	37	28	35	100
Employment	(N)	46	35	30	111
	(%)	41	37	27	100
Environmental influences	(N)	46	31	66	143
	(%)	32	22	46	100
All other reasons combined	(N)	27	25	17	69
	(%)	39	36	25	100

[a]Excludes 9 cases for which sizes of place of origin could not be coded.

Reasons and destinations

As was seen in Chapter 2, most migrants live in or near small places—over 80 percent in or around towns of under 5,000. In contrast, the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, a larger proportion of whom are moving for employment reasons, tend to locate in or near larger towns than the metropolitan origin migrants. Data from the cross tabulation of reason-for-leaving with size of current place of residence (Table 3.4) strongly supports our hypothesis that those metropolitan origin migrants moving for environmental reasons are locating disproportionately in (or near) small towns. Of those citing environmental reasons, and the residual category which is also made up of a variety of nonemployment reasons, a majority located in or near places with less than 1,000 population. Only 29 percent of those moving for employment reasons are similarly located. Thus it can be concluded that those who moved for reasons other than employment—especially those looking to get away from the city or simply wanting country life—are selecting the smaller nonmetropolitan places of destination.

Reasons and household income

The final question addresses the relationship between reasons for leaving and income changes. It was suggested previously that if households were truly motivated to move for reasons other than employment, and particularly for environmental considerations, they would be less likely to experience an improvement in income after the move than those who were moving for employment reasons. Data were obtained on whether respondents' household income was "more," "the same," or "less" in the year after the move than in the year prior to the move, and these income changes are displayed in Table 3.5.

Table 3.4. Population of current residence (1970) by reason for leaving for metropolitan origin migrant households, and marginals for nonmetropolitan origin migrant households (households with head aged 18-59)

Subsample and reason for leaving		Size of current place of residence (1970) Under 1000	1000-4999	5000+	Total
All metropolitan origin migrant households[a]	(N)	152	113	65	330
	(%)	46	34	20	100
Employment	(N)	33	47	35	115
	(%)	29	41	30	100
Environmental influences	(N)	80	44	19	143
	(%)	56	31	13	100
All other reasons combined	(N)	39	22	11	72
	(%)	54	31	15	100
All nonmetropolitan origin migrant households	(N)	56	56	47	159
	(%)	35	35	30	100

[a]Excludes cases for which current place of residence population could not be coded.

Table 3.5. Post-move income change by reason for leaving for metropolitan origin migrant households, and marginals for nonmetropolitan origin migrant households (households with head aged 18-59)

Subsample and reason for leaving		Direction of income change More	Same	Less	Total
All metropolitan origin migrant households[a]	(N)	89	149	84	322
	(%)	28	46	26	100
Employment	(N)	47	33	32	112
	(%)	42	29	29	100
Environmental influences	(N)	31	74	36	141
	(%)	22	52	26	100
All other reasons combined	(N)	11	42	16	69
	(%)	16	61	23	100
All nonmetropolitan origin migrant households	(N)	56	37	58	151
	(%)	37	24	38	100

[a]Excludes 10 refusals.

There is no evidence that those metropolitan origin migrants moving for reasons other than employment show any greater likelihood of earning *less* after the move than those moving for any other set of reasons. The three categories of reasons for leaving have about the same proportion reporting that their incomes were less in the year following the move. However, those moving for reasons other, then employment are distinctly less likely to have earned *more* in the year after the move than in the year before. Forty-two percent of those moving for employment reasons report more income, while only 22 percent and 16 percent of the other nonemployment categories, respectively, reported more income.

The data point strongly in the direction of a different motivational base underlying the new migration trend. The findings for the metropolitan origin migrants are in sharp contrast to the prevailing research on reasons for migrating and in contrast to the findings for the nonmetropolitan origin movers. The present data show that there are different explanations for the new metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream: employment, retirement, amenities of rural areas, and dissatisfaction with urban areas. By and large the movement is rooted in considerations other than employment. This is substantiated by the comparisons of reasons given for moving by the metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin samples for both the total sample and the portion of the sample comprised of households with working-age heads. An attempt to validate the findings by examining some of the assumed logical concomitants of moving for environmental and employment-related reasons provides additional evidence for arguing that the new migration to nonmetropolitan areas is being generated by motivations different from those which have characterized long distance moves in the past. And, it might be added that they are different from those characterizing the nonmetropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migration stream currently.

Satisfaction with Former Residence

The analysis of reasons for moving suggests, at least for those moving for "environmental push" reasons, a certain amount of dissatisfaction with the former area as a place to live and work. It could be argued, of course, that some dissatisfaction underlies most moves, at least in a relative sense, and that dissatisfaction is a necessary precondition for moving. It also is conceivable that the former residence may not necessarily be deficient on a variety of place utility considerations, but rather that the destination is relatively *more* satisfying as a place for meeting household and family needs. This relative comparison, rather than widespread dissatisfaction, may be the more important consideration in effecting a residential change.

This section focuses on migrants' retrospective evaluations of various aspects of their former residences. Their responses will permit a comparative assessment of dissatisfaction on specific community-based items and a ranking of place attributes which elicit the most satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Table 3.6 displays the extent of migrants' dissatisfaction with 10 specific attributes of the former residence. All of the items have been used in previous research to provide an assessment of the domain generally referred to as "community satisfaction." The last row of the table reports frequencies on a single item asking respondents to assess their overall satisfaction with the former place of residence. On all of the satisfaction measures reported in Table 3.6, migrants were presented with a set of four possible response choices,

ranging from "very satisfied" to "very unsatisfied." The percentages which appear in Table 3.6 are the two dissatisfaction responses combined.

The more striking observations are that, by and large, there was not a great amount of dissatisfaction with the prior residence and that there are sharp differences between the two samples on almost every item (Table 3.6). It might be suggested that many of the differences simply reflect aggregate differences known to exist between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas in the region and nation. For example, much higher proportions of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants expressed dissatisfaction with employment opportunities, medical care, senior citizen programs, shopping facilities, and public transportation in their former residences than the metropolitan origin migrants. The differences are consistent with the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan disparities that exist, at the aggregate level, on these types of quality-of-life measures (Dillman and Tremblay, 1977; Brinkman, 1974). There is, however, one striking anomaly; while urban schools are generally felt to be better than rural schools, the metropolitan origin migrants were considerably more dissatisfied with the quality of schools than were the nonmetropolitan origin migrants. This is clearly a case in which aggregate and individual measures of quality are at odds. On two other items the responses are consistent with current popular conceptions of more rural areas: nonmetropolitan origin migrants were much less dissatisfied with the friendliness of neighbors and local tax rates than the metropolitan origin migrants.

Another way of looking at the same data is in terms of the items on which there was the greatest amount of dissatisfaction. In other words, what were the specific features of the former place of residence with which migrants were most dissatisfied? For the

Table 3.6. Migrants' dissatisfaction with selected attributes of the former residence, by migrant type

Satisfaction item	Metropolitan origin migrants	Nonmetropolitan origin migrants
	— Percentage —	
Availability of employment	12[a]	33
Quality of public schools	21	11
Availability of medical care	6	25
Programs for senior citizens	19	36
Shopping facilities	6	27
Availability of public transportation	25	43
Friendliness of neighbors	17	7
Outdoor recreational opportunities	22	18
Maintenance of streets and roads	19	22
Local tax rates	46	18
OVERALL DISSATISFACTION	21	18

[a]Percentages reported are the two combined dissatisfaction responses on the choices presented to respondents.

metropolitan origin migrants, taxes were the item most disliked in the former residence, with public transportation, outdoor recreational opportunities, and quality of schools following, in that order. For the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, items registering the most dissatisfaction were public transportation, senior citizen programs, and employment opportunities, which was shown earlier to be the main reason for moving by this particular sample. These general patterns remain after controlling for age (data not shown), although we notice a general tendency for younger persons to be more dissatisfied than older persons.

Attention is turned to a different satisfaction question: How does overall dissatisfaction vary by reason for moving? In other words, is there a relationship between the motivations for leaving an area and satisfaction-dissatisfaction with the area? These data provide a further means for validating the analysis of reasons in the previous section and for determining if migrants' motivations for moving reflect different degrees of satisfaction-dissatisfaction with the former residence. For example, those moving for "environmental push" reasons should be the most dissatisfied segment of the metropolitan origin migrant sample. This is essentially what is found in Table 3.7. Those moving for "push" reasons have the highest level of dissatisfaction and those moving for retirement reasons the lowest level. A large portion of the metropolitan origin migrants, however, even among those moving for environmental "push" reasons, were generally satisfied with the former residence.

Table 3.7. Dissatisfaction with the former residence among migrants moving for different reasons, by migrant type

Reason for move	Metropolitan origin migrants who are dissatisfied	Nonmetropolitan origin migrants who are dissatisfied
	— Percentage —	
Employment related factors	16	14
Ties to area	8	22
Environmental "push" factors	39	40
Environmental "pull" factors	24	20
Retirement	7	15
Other	10	21

It appears from the data that the population turnaround may be more a product of the increased attractiveness of rural areas than it is of the diminished attractiveness and dissatisfaction with urban areas. There is no data with which to address this issue directly. It can only be pointed out that there is no evidence for a pervasive dissatisfaction among metropolitan origin migrants with their places of former residence. In fact, if the migrant groups were compared on the proportions giving overall dissatisfaction responses, it would be

seen that they are quite similar (21 percent and 18 percent, Table 3.6). Metropolitan origin movers are not significantly more dissatisfied, overall, with their former places of residence than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants. This may illustrate that place dissatisfaction is not one of the necessary preconditions for moving. Unfortunately, we cannot guess how the retrospective nature of the satisfaction questions affect their utility, or if there is any differential accuracy across migrant types about actual conditions at the time of the move.

Given these findings, how does one reconcile the fact that households moved even though there was not widespread dissatisfaction with the former residence? Several explanations are possible. Some of the moves were undoubtedly involuntary and some quasi-involuntary, in which case there is no necessary link between reason for moving and dissatisfaction with the former residence. For other migrants, the attractiveness of an alternative residence, the destination, may have simply outweighed that of the former residence without any great amount of underlying dissatisfaction with the former residence. Finally, it is possible that some of the dissatisfaction which existed at the time of the move has been tempered, and in retrospect the former residence does not look that bad.

Migrants' feelings about moving

Migrants were generally satisfied with their former residences, and they were not unhappy about moving either. Most of the metropolitan origin migrants (51 percent) reported they were generally happy about moving and a sizable portion (43 percent), as one would expect of individuals who have lived in an area for some time, were ambivalent about the move (data not presented). The pattern for the nonmetropolitan origin movers is similar.

Other data (not presented) based on a cross tabulation of feelings toward moving with reason for moving reinforce earlier portions of the analysis. Those moving for environmental "push" reasons reported they were most happy (63 percent) with leaving; those moving for employment reasons were the least happy (41 percent). There was a striking difference between the retirement movers in the two samples, however. In the metropolitan origin migrant sample the retirement movers were happy about leaving (57 percent), but in the nonmetropolitan origin sample retirement movers were less happy (35 percent). The explanation for this difference may lie in the reason they moved where they have. The metropolitan origin migrants moving for retirement reasons overwhelmingly went to areas where they had ties and with which they were familiar (69 percent), but only half of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants moving for retirement reasons went to destination areas chosen on the basis of ties and familiarity. A sizable portion (45 percent) of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants citing retirement reasons chose destinations for a variety of environmental "pull" reasons—one of

which was to locate in a larger place. This may suggest that the retirement movers from metropolitan areas are more voluntary movers than the retirement, nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

Reasons for Selecting Destinations

The other side of the migration decision, and perhaps the one with greater implications for nonmetropolitan areas, involves the choice of destination. The basic question is why, in light of all available alternatives, individuals choose to locate in a particular destination. If the present migration trend continues, it may be more consequential to know why people are choosing particular destinations than why they are moving.

Current speculation on destination selection parallels that on motivation for moving; individuals have more freedom in destination choice and are giving importance to noneconomic considerations in determining what is for them an attractive place to live. The implication of this reasoning is that, in contrast to the availability of employment and economic opportunities, other place considerations have increasingly assumed importance in the choice of destination.

In this research the analysis of factors surrounding destination selection is based on responses to a question asking why the respondent chose "this" particular place rather than some other place. The question is highly focused and is not intended to measure reasons for moving to a nonmetropolitan area in general, nor does it describe the narrowing down process which is presumed to exist prior to the choice of a destination. Data on destination selection are displayed for the total sample and separately for that portion of the sample in households with heads of labor force age (18-59), by migrant type, in Table 3.8.

Using the same set of categories which was developed for analyzing reasons for moving, the criteria migrants employed in selecting a destination show a considerably different distribution than reasons for leaving the former residence, and there are differences by migrant type as well (Table 3.8). As was the case with reasons for leaving, employment criteria are much more evident among the in-migrants from other nonmetropolitan counties, and in fact employment is the modal response for this migrant group (42 percent).

For the total sample of metropolitan origin migrants, on the other hand, the modal response category is "ties to the area of destination" (45 percent). Ties also are important for migrants from nonmetropolitan areas, accounting for 31 percent of the total. Environmental pull factors were the second most frequently mentioned category of reasons (28 percent) for all metropolitan origin migrants, and third (21 percent) for all nonmetropolitan origin migrants (Table 3.8).

Detailed data (not presented here) on the choice of destination show that many (60 percent) of the metropolitan origin migrants reporting employment reasons stated that they had been transferred

Table 3.8. Reason for choosing destination, by migrant type for the total samples, and for households with head aged 18-59

Type of reason	Total samples				Household heads aged 18-59			
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Employment related	105	21	86	42	101	30	80	50
Ties to area of destination	227	45	65	31	128	39	38	24
Environmental "push" factors	8	2	1	1	5	2	1	1
Environmental "pull" factors	141	28	44	21	87	26	37	20
Retirement	5	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
Other reasons	14	3	9	4	11	3	8	5
No response	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total	501	100	208	100	333	100	159	100

Table 3.9. Cross-tabulation of reason for move with reason for selecting destination, by migrant type

Reason for selecting destination	Reason for leaving former residence: Metropolitan origin migrants									
	Employment		Ties in destination		Environmental influences		Retirement		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Employment	81	66	—	—	17	9	1	1	6	11
Ties in destination	21	17	32	86	87	43	59	68	27	51
Environmental influences	19	16	5	14	90	45	22	26	13	25
Other	1	1	—	—	7	3	4	5	7	13
	Reason for leaving former residence: Nonmetropolitan origin migrants									
Employment	75	78	—	—	8	20	—	—	3	13
Ties in destination	12	13	22	82	10	25	10	50	10	43
Environmental influences	9	9	3	11	19	47	9	45	5	22
Other	—	—	2	7	3	8	1	5	5	22

or had found a job in the place to which they moved. Most (30 percent) of those choosing the destination because of ties to the area wanted to be closer to friends or relatives or were born or raised there and simply wanted to return. Some (23 percent) of those reporting ties owned property in the area and gave that as the specific reason. A few others (15 percent) selected the destination on the basis of familiarity with the area, primarily familiarity gained through vacationing.

Restricting the analysis to households with heads aged 18-59 produced results similar to those observed for distributions of reasons for leaving the former residence. The overall importance of employment criteria in destination selection is increased, but subsample differences remain pronounced and consistent with the assertion that the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream is at variance with labor force migration models arising out of economically oriented conceptions of human behavior.

Motivations for Moving and Destination Selection

Thus far the data suggest that both the decision to leave the metropolitan area and the choice of a nonmetropolitan destination are based largely on considerations other than employment. This is certainly consistent with current speculation on motivations underlying the population turnaround. At the same time, the findings disagree with previous research on long-distance migration which has emphasized the importance of employment factors. But, while the data illustrate the importance of nonemployment or environmental influences on migration decisions, they fail to document the extent to which the reason for move and destination selection aspects of the migration decision are related. Earlier in this research a case was made for a distinction between the two decisions. However, the two decisions are probably not unrelated, either. A move motivated by employment reasons, for example, is likely to coincide with the selection of a destination on the basis of employment factors. The data in Tables 3.1 and 3.8 do not permit one to relate the two migration decisions, although it could easily be concluded that if gross employment-nonemployment categories were used the two decisions would be highly related. Broad categorizations, however, fail to highlight the predominance of specific factors, in this case the importance of ties in the destination area to destination selection.

The cross-tabulations of reasons for leaving the former residence with reasons for selecting the place of destination provide the data for looking at how the two decisions are related. Table 3.9 presents a cross tabulation based on a modified categorization scheme in which environmental "push" and environmental "pull" reasons are combined, and those few (7 cases) reporting "retirement" as a reason for selecting a destination are assigned to the "other" category. In the upper portion of Table 3.9, which presents the cross tabulation for

the metropolitan origin migrants, it can be seen that those moving for employment reasons essentially select destinations on the basis of employment factors. For other reasons for leaving, though, ties in the area of destination were predominantly cited as reasons for choosing a particular destination. These ties range from prior residence in the area to ownership of property or housing in the destination area to the presence of pre-existing friendship and kinship ties. A similar pattern exists for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants (lower portion of Table 3.9), but the importance of ties is less than that for the metropolitan origin sample. Employment reasons, though, dominate the selection of a destination if nonmetropolitan origin migrants moved for employment reasons.

The data in Table 3.9 permit two general conclusions: first, the contention that there is no necessary correspondence between the two basic migration decisions appears to have substantial support, with the major exceptions being those migrants motivated by employment concerns and those initially motivated by tie reasons. Thus, knowing why people leave a particular area or type of residence provides imperfect information on why they will choose a particular destination. The second general conclusion is that ties to the destination area are the major destination selection consideration. Regardless of the reason people cite for having left the place of origin, ties in the area of destination are very important considerations in the selection of a new location. Their role in the process would have been greatly underestimated had we asked only a "reason for moving" question.

It could be argued, of course, that the findings do not represent a dramatic departure from past migration research which has demonstrated the influence of information networks, family ties, friends, and familiarity with an area to the selection of a destination (Lansing and Muller, 1967). It is true that location decisions have been shown to be influenced by a wider variety of factors than have decisions to move, although many of the nonemployment considerations have frequently been interpreted in an employment contest. The presence of ties, for example, is felt to facilitate the search for and the acquisition of employment.

What is different about the current set of data on the metropolitan origin migrants—given the existing research—is that while the motivational basis for the migration seems to be unusual, the motivational basis for selecting a destination is not. Employment and destination ties are important in selecting a location in much the same way that they have always been. This finding raises questions about the extent to which the new migration is characterized by individuals acting strictly on their pre-existing preferences for a more "rural" environment and the extent to which the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream is made up of a truly "floating population," settling where it pleases. The metropolitan origin migrants may be acting on their desires for more rural places of residence or responding to environmental influences, and they may

be settling where they please, but they are also selecting places within the constraints of employment and affinity, and probably more the latter. In this respect they are perhaps not much different from past migrants or present migrants in other flows.

One might also argue that, regardless of reason given for selecting a new location, employment must—out of necessity—be an important consideration or that all migrants should have some ties in the new location prior to moving. There is no way of determining what portion of those moving for reasons other than employment also placed a high, but lesser, priority on employment factors, or conversely, what portion of those selecting a destination for employment reasons also placed a high level of importance on ties in the area to which they moved. The survey elicited the *main* reason for choosing the particular place in which the migrants settled rather than some other place, and those are the data which have been reported. Regarding the argument that all migrants establish ties in an area prior to moving, there is no choice but to concur. The more important aspect of ties, though, concerns the duration and types of ties. The research tried to exclude newly formed ties such as those which would be represented in home or property ownership in the area just prior to the move. If these types of ties were included, everyone would have had ties to the destination. It will be pointed out in the next section that many migrants had no more than these minimal types of pre-move ties and many selected destinations on the basis of other factors. One can not escape the fact, however, that a variety of ties to the area of destination were cited and by more than just a few migrants.

Migrants' ties in areas of destination

One of the more obvious types of ties migrants may have had with the new location was prior residence in the area. In other words, some of the respondents are return migrants to the general geographical area or the county in which they are currently residing. Previous research has documented fairly extensive return migration as one component of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream (Dailey, et. al., 1977). The present survey has been able to document the importance of return migration, as well as the types of ties and contacts migrants had with the area prior to moving. In about two-thirds of each subsample neither respondent nor spouse had lived in the general "area" before (data not presented). Although some migrants are "returning home," it is clear that the migrant stream as a whole cannot easily be characterized as made up of persons moving back to "areas" where they once lived.

Using a more specific geographical referent, the *county*, to define a return migrant, the proportions are reduced to roughly a fourth of each sample. An even smaller portion of each stream is made up of migrants moving to counties in which they were born, overall, about one in six (16 percent) metropolitan origin migrants.

Prior residence thus accounts for a small portion of the extensive ties migrants had in the area of destination prior to moving. Other types of ties were found to be much more prevalent. For example, three-fourths of all metropolitan origin migrants knew someone in the destination area prior to moving, and these were primarily close friends and relatives. Surprisingly, however, less than 10 percent of these migrants had children in the area. Even among the older (over 55) segment of the metropolitan origin sample, those more likely to have older children and thus more likely to move to be nearer grown children, relatively few (13 percent) had children in the area. Thus, we can conclude that much of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream is directed to areas in which there are friendship and kinship ties but apparently not toward areas where children are residing.

Consideration of destination alternatives

It is generally assumed that the relocation decision is made after a search for and evaluation of alternative sites. Once the decision to move is made some thought is given to alternative destination possibilities. A choice is then made on the basis of various place utility considerations. Migrants are assumed to have some freedom of destination choice and to formally consider alternatives. Actual research data on destination selection, however, suggests that relatively few migrants give serious consideration to more than one place prior to moving.

Relatively few of either sample of migrants in the survey considered moving to a different place—about 16 percent of each migrant sample. Most of those who had, considered other places in the state and in other states; very few (10 percent) considered other places in the current county of residence (data not presented).

Ties and contacts in an area also are a mitigating factor in destination searches. Those who had lived in the area previously were much less likely to consider alternatives than those who had not, as were those who owned housing or property in the area or had friends, relatives and acquaintances in the area prior to moving. Ties and contacts are thus quite important influences in destination choice. They are functional as well. More than 60 percent of each migrant sample reported that contacts they had in the destination provided some help during or after the move in the form of assisting with the actual move, providing temporary housing, helping to locate housing, meet others, or in a wide variety of other ways.

Summary and Discussion

The data point strongly in the direction of a different motivational base underlying the new migration trend. The present findings for the metropolitan origin migrants are in sharp contrast to the prevailing research on reasons for migrating and in contrast to

the findings reported for the nonmetropolitan movers in the survey. The fact that a similar conclusion is reached even after limiting the analysis to that portion of the sample for which labor models of migration are assumed to be most applicable, suggests that at least for the inmigration metropolitan origin portion of the growth in nonmetropolitan areas, labor mobility models have limited utility. They do, however, seem to explain a large portion of the inmigration of migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas.

To those who have been researching and speculating on the current population turnaround phenomenon, the present findings are perhaps more documentary than surprising. Despite distortions in the popular press, there has been in recent years a growing awareness among researchers that population turnaround in nonmetropolitan areas involves more than simply industrial decentralization, super-suburbanization, or retirement migration. Of course, the underlying catalyst for recent trends may be the enhanced capacity of nonmetropolitan areas for employing new residents. However, the data suggest rather strongly that migrants, especially those leaving metropolitan areas, tend to view their behavior in the context of the relative merits of urban versus rural living.

For students of migration in general, the data suggest that traditional conceptualizations about motivations for migration are inadequate, at least for the inflow to our study counties from metropolitan areas. The presumption that migration stems solely from rational evaluations of economic opportunities may in part explain why post-1970 population turnaround has occasionally been referred to as an "unanticipated" trend.

Chapter 4

MIGRATION AND CHANGING HOUSEHOLD CONDITIONS

Frederick C. Fliegel and James D. Williams

Having presented some background information on the migrants themselves, where they came from and where they have gone, plus some of their reasons for moving, the analysis now turns to some of the consequences of migration for the individuals and households involved. The range of possible consequences which might be considered is almost infinite, given that attention is focused on households which have substantially changed the settings in which day-to-day life is carried out. The analysis is restricted to only a few spheres which are assumed to be most important in understanding the migration process. Throughout the chapter the discussion is cast in gain versus loss terms. The assumption is that migration is undertaken to better satisfy desires and to enhance opportunities (Brown et. al, 1977). We try to take differences in desires into account in estimating whether gains have been achieved.

The first two sections of this chapter describe some possible economic consequences of the move. The first section is devoted to job consequences and the second to income. Both sections concentrate attention on the historically dominant themes in studies of migration, the emphasis on employment security and financial gain as critical elements in the decision-making process. To what extent are employment and income gains, or losses, actually experienced by these migrants? Then, in the third major section of the chapter attention is turned to questions of gain or loss in the "quality of life" sphere. At that point the analysis is based on the proposition, substantially documented in the preceding chapter, that noneconomic factors are of considerable importance in accounting for migration to the rapidly growing rural areas in which migrants have been interviewed. The concern, in that third section, is the extent to which migrants perceive themselves as having gained or lost with respect to several aspects of quality of life. Finally, in the last section of the chapter, changes in type of housing and ownership-rental patterns are described. There, again, the approach will be from a gain/loss perspective, though the data on housing are rather limited.

As will become apparent in the following discussion, some of the data are more amenable to scrutiny at the level of the individual and some at the level of the household. To avoid confusion in progressing from one section to the next it may be useful to recall that the sample is a sample of households. Individuals were interviewed and asked to provide information about the household and themselves, as well. In

addition, married respondents were asked questions about their spouses. For all married couples, males have been arbitrarily designated the head of household, and in some of the analyses such as the one immediately following, information is presented separately for heads and spouses. In other sections the perspective is that of the household or of the individual who was interviewed.

Employment, Unemployment, and Type of Job

Chapter I briefly described the employment status of all respondents at the time of the interview, while Chapter 3 pointed out that employment opportunities were frequently mentioned as a reason for moving, especially by nonmetropolitan origin migrants. Here the discussion deals with the following question: What has resulted from the move in terms of shifts into or out of the labor market? To consider this question, two data presentations are made. The first is concerned with changes in labor force participation which occurred among the inmigrants between the time just prior to moving and the time of the interview. Here the data for heads of households (male, plus some single females) and spouses (exclusively females) are considered separately. In the second presentation, the analysis is restricted to those who were holding or actively seeking jobs just prior to moving. An employment history is constructed for them which contains three reference periods; just prior to the move, just after the move, and at the time of the interview, 1977. Because of questionnaire design, this second analysis relies on data for respondents only, by sex.

Employment status

Table 4.1 presents a comparison of migrants' employment status before moving and at the time of the interview in 1977. The table shows a fairly marked disjuncture in employment status attendant on changing residences, especially among those of metropolitan origins. The largest net changes for both the heads of households and their spouses and especially for those coming from metropolitan areas are decreases in the proportions employed full or part-time and increases in the proportions who are retired. This is not surprising since it has been noted earlier that metropolitan origin migrants tend to be older than nonmetropolitan origin migrants, and that for a noteworthy number of migrants from metropolitan areas, retirement was cited as a reason for making the move. Among metropolitan origin heads of households, the proportion who are retired rises from 17 percent before the move to one-third in 1977. For their spouses, the proportion retired slightly more than doubles, from 6 to 14 percent.

Among those coming from nonmetropolitan areas, similar shifts can be observed, though retirement, overall, is less of a factor. For household heads, the proportion retired climbs from 10 percent

Table 4.1. Employment status of migrants before the move and in 1977, by migrant type

Employment status	Metropolitan origin migrants				Nonmetropolitan origin migrants			
	Household heads		Spouses		Household heads		Spouses	
	Before	1977	Before	1977	Before	1977	Before	1977
	— Percentage —							
Employed (full-time or part-time)	72	61	42	35	76	71	49	45
Temporarily unemployed	5	2	3	3	6	5	3	1
Retired	17	33	6	14	10	20	3	9
Not employed, not looking for work	7	4	48	48	8	5	55	46
Base N	492	501	387	407	202	208	156	164

before the move to 20 percent at the time of the interview and from three to nine percent for their spouses. In part, the trend toward rising proportions who are retired among both groups would be expected given the numbers and proportions of older persons in the samples and the passage of time. It is difficult to infer from these data exactly *when* retirement took place, whether at the time of the move or later after a few years of involvement (possibly part-time) in the local labor market at the area of destination. This question will be examined more closely in the next data presentation.

A final point should be made about the data in Table 4.1. It is clear that full or part-time employment of spouses is important for all migrant families. Since the spouse category here is female by definition, we would have to conclude that female labor force participation is an important part of the domestic economy of these households. Depending of course on migrant type and point of time reference, between a third and nearly one-half of all spouses are or were employed either full or part-time. Data not displayed document that more than half of these employed females, regardless of group or time, are employed full-time.

As indicated in the introductory remarks, we are able to provide even more detailed information on changes in employment status as a function of migration for a portion of the respondents. These data, in Table 4.2, describe employment status at three points in time for male and female respondents who were in the labor force just before moving. About 70 percent of the females represented in Table 4.2 are respondents who are married, and the remaining 30 percent are female heads of households. The change in basis for the two tables is a consequence of an inadvertent failure to ask respondents to indicate employment status of spouse just after the move. Thus it is not possible to make the three time-point comparison for the larger number of cases represented in Table 4.1, but it is possible, nevertheless, to gain some insights from the more restricted sample.

The data in Table 4.2 clearly demonstrate that for males and females from metropolitan areas, and to a lesser extent for males coming from other nonmetropolitan areas, retirement took place at the time of the move and is a major factor in explaining the declining proportions of respondents in the labor force. Though retirement is fairly common among metropolitan origin females, it is also apparent from these data that females of both migrant types tend to drop out of the labor force for other reasons and stay out. For females from metropolitan areas, there are 32 percent not employed and not looking for work just after the move. For females from nonmetropolitan origins, the comparable figure is 29 percent. And, for both migrant types of females, the proportion not employed and not looking for work drops only a few percentage points by 1977, to 29 percent for those from metropolitan areas and to 21 percent for those coming from other nonmetropolitan areas.

The proportions employed full or part-time show a very clear pattern over time for males and females of both migrant types. From

Table 4.2. Employment status before, just after the move, and in 1977 for respondents in the labor force before the move, by migrant type

	Metropolitan origin migrants						Nonmetropolitan origin migrants					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
Employment status	Before	After	1977	Before	After	1977	Before	After	1977	Before	After	1977
	— Percentage —											
Employed (full-time or part-time)	94	58	72	89	29	46	91	73	82	90	47	74
Temporarily unemployed	6	17	2	12	19	5	10	10	1	11	21	—
Retired	—	24	24	—	20	21	—	16	15	—	3	5
Not employed, not looking for work	—	1	1	—	32	28	—	1	1	—	29	21
Base N	173	173	173	104	104	104	74	74	74	38	38	38

rather high initial levels, the proportion drops just after the move to rather low levels and then rises by 1977. For all migrants, this rise in proportions full or part-time employed is attributable to the re-entry into employment of those who were temporarily unemployed just after moving. For instance, among metropolitan origin males, the percentage who were employed full or part-time was 94 just before moving. Six percent were temporarily unemployed. Just after the move, only 58 percent were employed and temporary unemployment rose to 17 percent with most of the rest of the respondents having retired. By 1977, however, while the porportions for both the retired and those not looking for work remained almost the same as observed just after the move, temporary unemployment drops to 2 percent of the total, and full or part-time employment rises to 72 percent. This pattern is especially evident for males and females from metropolitan areas and for females from nonmetropolitan areas, and we must conclude that for a significant proportion of these inmigrants, there was a period of unemployment in the destination area before starting to work. It cannot be determined whether this is voluntary and quite temporary unemployment to permit "settling in" at the new location or actually involves some difficulty in finding employment. It would appear, however, that those who want employment are successful in finding it since very few were temporarily unemployed by 1977.

Another possible impact of migration might be noted by its relative absence from the pattern shown in Table 4.2. There is little reason to suspect from these data that large numbers of formerly unemployed migrants have moved into these high growth areas to solve their job problems. Indeed, relatively few of these migrants were temporarily unemployed prior to the move. The general picture is one of quite active labor force involvement and in most cases a job change, the nature of which will be explored in the next section.

Occupational prestige

In addition to changes in employment status, one can raise another type of impact question: does migration result in upward mobility, in the sense of shifting people into higher status jobs than they had before the move, or does it result in downward mobility? That question is rather difficult to answer for these migrants because of the movement out of and back into the labor force described in the preceding section. In addition, substantial numbers of people have retired and are thus outside the framework of a discussion of occupational prestige changes. Nevertheless, a comparison of changes in job prestige can be made for respondents, both male and female, who were employed before moving and in 1977 as well. Approximately half of each migrant sample is simply ignored for the present comparison as a result.

Table 4.3 displays the percentages of both metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin movers who have moved up in occupa-

tional prestige, moved down, or remained at the same level when their jobs before moving are compared with their 1977 jobs. Occupational prestige is measured in terms of a widely used prestige ranking (Duncan, 1961) which arrays the occupational labels used by the U. S. Bureau of the Census on a zero to 100 scale. A carpenter's helper, for example, is scored 07, while a bank teller is scored 51 and a physician is scored 93. Metropolitan origin movers, again, show more evidence of a migration related impact on their job than do nonmetropolitan origin migrants. Less than half of the metropolitan origin migrants have stayed at the same level of occupational prestige, while the other half is evenly split between upward and downward movement. In contrast, the proportion of nonmetropolitan origin migrants reporting 1977 jobs at the same level as their premove jobs is considerably higher (at 62 percent) than is the case for metropolitan origin migrants (46 percent), with almost one-fourth of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants having moved up and only 16 percent having moved down. Nonmetropolitan origin migrants can be described, in general, as having stayed at the same job level or having moved up as a consequence of the move. They are net "gainers" in terms of job prestige and this is broadly consistent with the prominence of job-related reasons for moving among nonmetropolitan origin respondents. One can see confirmation here of the earlier documented finding that many of them moved to take a better job. For the metropolitan origin migrants who were more likely to have moved for reasons other-than-jobs there is more change in job prestige *both* up and down, and on the whole they would have to be described as holding their own in that the proportion moving up is only slightly larger than the proportion moving down (28 percent versus 27 percent).

A more thorough examination of occupational prestige change data shows that the changes are not radical. More importantly, the changes in occupational prestige, either up or down, are quite comparable in nature for the two migrant samples. Here it may be useful to recall the brief description of current occupations for the two samples presented in Chapter 1. The differences between metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants were not great, and both groups were shown to be rather heavily involved in

Table 4.3. Changes in migrants' occupational prestige before moving compared with 1977

Changes in occupational prestige:	Respondent group	
	Metropolitan origin movers	Nonmetropolitan origin movers
	— Percentage —	
1977 occupation higher	28	23
No change	46	62
1977 occupation lower	27	16
Base N	200	110

white collar occupations as is typical of migrants in general (Shaw, 1975:24). The modest net upward shift in occupational prestige described in this section for the nonmetropolitan origin movers serves to reinforce the established pattern of white collar employment. A typical change, for either type of migrant, might be movement from employment as a skilled artisan to a job as supervisor over several such artisans, a significant change for the person involved but not a radical shift. In any case, the impact of migration on the occupational prestige of the continuously employed migrants under scrutiny here, though not great, seems to be in the direction of upward movement, especially for the nonmetropolitan origin sample. The next section, dealing with income changes, shows more evidence of downward shifting, but that analysis deals with the total samples, again including retirees.

Income Changes

The possible impact of migration on income will be examined at two levels. As a matter of convenience these are referred to as the "short-run" and "long-run." The short-run comparison contrasts incomes in the year before the move with the year immediately after the move, and the long-run comparison simply compares pre-move income with 1976 income. Parenthetically, it might be noted here that an income figure for the year just after the move was not obtained, but instead a more/less/same question was asked in which migrants were asked to compare their income just after the move with their income in the year before the move. The result is that an actual income comparison cannot be made for three time points. In the comparisons which are made, the referent is always total family income. The use of family income presents certain problems in that family and household composition may well have changed in the time span involved here, a maximum of six years depending on time of move. Nevertheless, for present purposes, the income data available permit certain interesting comparisons.

Short-run income changes

Having already described a migration-related disjuncture in employment status in the preceding section, it would be reasonable to expect a similar pattern for income changes in the short-run. Specifically, for metropolitan origin migrants who were more likely than nonmetropolitan origin migrants to have shifted out of the labor force in conjunction with the move, one would expect reduced income in the year following the move to be a fairly common experience. And that is the case, as shown in Table 4.4. Half of the metropolitan origin migrants stated that their total household income was lower in the year following the move than it had been before moving. This compares with 28 percent of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants who stated that post-move incomes

Table 4.4. Percentage of migrant respondents, by group, reporting income loss or gain for the year after the move

Percentage whose income in year after move was . . .	Respondent groups	
	Metropolitan origin migrants	Nonmetropolitan origin migrants
	— Percentage —	
Less than before move	50	28
The same as before	30	41
More than before move	20	31
Base N	480	199

were lower than before the move. Nonmetropolitan origin migrants were considerably more likely to have remained at the same income level or to have moved up, as shown by the proportions in the second and third rows of Table 4.4. In general, however, both respondent groups apparently experienced some move-related income disjuncture and, apart from questions related to retirement incomes, we would expect the disjuncture to be temporary, reflecting the apparently temporary employment disjuncture discussed above.

Long-run income changes

This section presents, first, a comparison of pre-move and current (1976) household incomes for the two migrant groups and, second, a more detailed comparison of income changes between early and late movers. The latter analysis represents an attempt to gain somewhat greater insight into the pattern of temporary loss and recovery which we have been describing. Specifically, migrants who moved into these growth areas in the early 1970s have had more time to reestablish their domestic economies than later migrants and should therefore be better off economically than later migrants.

That pre-move household income levels have at least been reestablished by 1976 is quite clearly documented by the distributions shown in Table 4.5. The nonmetropolitan origin movers, especially, can be described as higher in income by 1976 than before the move, on average, in spite of the fact that a substantial fraction (28 percent) had reported a decrease in income immediately after the move. The income disjuncture for nonmetropolitan origin movers seems to be temporary, then, although there has been no attempt to take into account the effects of inflation on the buying power of the incomes reported. For metropolitan origin migrants the pattern of change in income levels is somewhat more complex, as shown in the first two columns of Table 4.5. There are larger proportions of metropolitan origin migrants in the higher income categories in 1976 than before the move, which suggests that they too have experienced only a temporary loss as a result of moving. The lower income categories also show an increase, however, which corresponds to the substantial shift of metropolitan origin movers into retirement noted earlier.

Apart from the question of retirement and the income needs of retired persons, a topic which will not be pursued here (see Chapter 9 for details on the elderly), the metropolitan origin migrants can also be said to have experienced only a temporary income disjuncture as a result of moving. In general, the 1976 income distributions for the two types of migrants are quite similar. The aggregate pattern for metropolitan origin migrants, however, is one of increasing income diversity over time, with larger proportions of households at both income extremes (for a more general picture of migration-related income changes see Kiker and Trayham, 1977).

Table 4.5 contains some further information which is noteworthy, although it is not directly related to the question of migration's impact on the mover. Perusal of the distribution of cases over the several income categories for both respondent groups, and either before the move or in 1976, will lead to the conclusion that these migrants seem to be drawn heavily from the middle and lower-middle income strata of the population as a whole. A few rough comparisons may be in order just to make the point. In 1974, which is about halfway between the pre-move period and 1976, 12.4 percent of U. S. (white) families reported incomes above $25,000 (U. S. Fact Book, 1976). This compares with 6 percent of the metropolitan origin migrants and 9 percent of nonmetropolitan origin migrants in 1976, without taking inflation into account. At the other extreme, 33 percent of U. S. (white) families reported incomes of $10,000 or less in 1974, compared with 48 percent and 45 percent for the metropolitan origin migrants, respectively, in 1976. There is little doubt but that both of the migrant samples are typically at a relatively modest income level, and this is the case in spite of the fact that they are over-represented by general population standards in the so-called "higher," white-collar occupations. Their reported household incomes are somewhat lower than average by general U. S. standards, but higher than the incomes of the resident sample (see Chapter I). This fact should be kept in mind in interpreting the data obtained from these samples on housing, jobs,

Table 4.5. Percentage of migrant respondents, by group, in various household income categories before move and in 1976

	Total household income			
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
Total household income:	Before moving	In 1976	Before moving	In 1976
$5,000 or less	15	21	21	21
$5,001 to $10,000	25	27	29	25
$10,001 to $15,000	31	24	29	24
$15,001 to $20,000	16	14	10	15
$20,001 to $25,000	8	8	5	7
Over $25,000	5	6	5	10
Base N	439	454	185	200

taxes, and so on, throughout this report. We are not dealing here with relatively well-to-do "exurbanites" of the type described by Spectorsky (1955). As a matter of fact, the migrant samples may well be typical of migrants to nonmetropolitan areas, who tend to be somewhat less highly qualified than migrants going from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas (Zuiches and Brown, 1978:66).

Income changes for early and late movers

Table 4.6 displays a somewhat abbreviated picture of shifts between income categories after having divided the respondent groups into two categories: early movers, who come into the growth counties between 1970 and 1973, and later movers, who came into the growth counties in 1974 or later. It was expected that the early movers, with more time to reestablish themselves in the new setting, would be less likely to report a negative impact on household income in the comparison of 1976 with premove incomes.

The data in Table 4.6 generally support the idea that the negative impact of the move on household income is temporary, and that more years in the new setting allow time for recovery to take place. Early movers of both migrant types (described in the upper half of the table) are disproportionately represented in the "more" column when compared with later movers (in the lower half of the table). Early movers with relatively low pre-move incomes are more likely to report increased income by 1976, and those with higher pre-move incomes are less likely to report income losses, when compared with later movers. The pattern described is quite consistent for the metropolitan origin migrants but not entirely consistent for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants. Early nonmetropolitan origin migrants in the higher income categories are somewhat more likely than later nonmetropolitan origin migrants to report lower than pre-move incomes for 1976. Why this should be so is not clear from the data at hand, but it suggests a negative and persistent income impact from the move for at least some nonmetropolitan origin migrants. On the other hand, late nonmetropolitan origin migrants are less likely to report a negative income impact than late metropolitan origin migrants. This is consistent with the data on job impacts in the earlier section of this chapter, i.e. nonmetropolitan origin migrants are less likely to experience economic disjuncture as a result of moving.

Gains and Losses in Quality of Life

The third major focus for assessing the impact of migration on the migrants involves the question of gains or losses in "quality of life." We are well aware that quality of life is a highly subjective matter and that which is valued by one person may be trivial or even repugnant to another. The data stem from questions, frequently used in assessments of quality of life, which were designed

Table 4.6. Change in household income, pre-move versus 1976, for metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants, by recency of move

Pre-move income by "early" or "late" migration		Metropolitan origin migrants				Nonmetropolitan origin migrants			
		Percent whose 1976 income is:				Percent whose 1976 income is:			
		Less	The same	More	No. of cases	Less	The same	More	No. of cases
Early movers, who came into growth counties between 1970 and 1973:		— Percentage —				— Percentage —			
Income before the move:	0-$5,000	—	47	53	38	—	41	59	17
	$5,001-10,000	16	40	44	55	10	24	67	21
	$10,001-15,000	35	38	27	71	30	45	25	20
	$15,000 and over	32	68	—	56	38	63	—	16
Later movers, who came into growth counties between 1974 and 1977:									
Income before the move:	0-$5,000	—	65	35	26	—	55	46	22
	$5,001-10,000	31	41	29	49	12	61	27	33
	$10,001-15,000	40	37	23	65	21	32	47	34
	$15,000 and over	55	45	—	67	27	73	—	22

to pinpoint at least a few "desirable" characteristics of places in which people live. The questions asked migrants whether they felt their new setting had more of a particular quality, the same amount, or less than the place from which they had moved.

The questions used to characterize quality of life are paraphrased in Table 4.7 and the results of the analysis are shown there. Proportions who said the former residence was "better" have been omitted from the table to simplify the data presentation. The proportion of metropolitan origin migrants who report a gain in quality of life as a result of the move, shown in the first column of Table 4.7, is high both in absolute terms and relative to nonmetropolitan origin migrants, and that is entirely consistent with the fact that metropolitan origin migrants were more prone to have given quality of life reasons for making the move. For metropolitan origin migrants, the impact of the move is generally a perceived net gain in quality of life. Nonmetropolitan origin migrants, however, are considerably less likely to say that their current residence is "better" on the items listed in the table than the place they left. Two reasons might be listed for the disparity between metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants. First, and most obvious, is the fact that nonmetropolitan origin migrants were more likely to have moved for job reasons, thus potential gains in quality of life would have had a lower priority for them. Second, however, the inherent potential for gain (or loss) on at least some of the quality of life criteria was less for nonmetropolitan origin than metropolitan origin migrants. Nonmetropolitan origin migrants moved from one relatively rural area to another and, in addition, they were considerably more likely than metropolitan origin mi-

Table 4.7. Migrants' responses to "quality of life" questions

"Quality of life" questions . . .	Respondent group			
	Metropolitan origin migrants[a]		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants[a]	
	More so here	Same here as there	More so here	Same here as there
	Percentage		Percentage	
The neighbors are friendlier	57	29	34	41
I feel safer	82	15	45	42
I am closer to family	38	15	38	23
There is more privacy	75	8	51	20
The environment is healthier	91	6	49	35
The weather is better	44	32	29	53
It's a better place to raise children	87	6	58	13
The schools are better	44	20	35	27
Tax rates are lower	68	12	33	21
It costs less to live	43	25	30	26

[a]Percentages shown are based on total samples of each migrant type, with slight variation in number of cases for each question due to nonresponse.

grants to have moved from a nearby county into the high-growth counties (Chapter 2). In other words, nonmetropolitan origin migrants are more likely to have moved between generally similar places, and thus gains in quality of life are less likely for them. This is reflected in the higher proportions responding "same here as there."

The items in Table 4.7 are arranged in four broad groupings, describing different aspects of quality of life. Four items (at the head of the list in the table) refer to feelings of personal well-being and safety. As expected, migrants from metropolitan areas perceive their new rural setting as friendlier, safer, and so on. This is consistent with popular conceptions of the positive aspects of a rural environment. Only the "closer to family" question elicited a similar response from the two migrant groups, both tending to report a net loss on that point (for more detail on kin and other social ties, see Chapter 5). The next two items, on environment and weather, again show the metropolitan origin migrants as more likely to report gains. They almost universally regard the environment of the new place as healthier, but in the case of weather, less than half of either type of migrant report gains. Here, again, the high proportions of "same here as there" responses for both migrant types are consistent with the dominant regional character of the moves (Chapter 2). Weather differences within the North Central Region are not striking.

Turning again to Table 4.7, two items refer to quality of life with respect to child-rearing and schools. Again, metropolitan origin migrants are more likely than nonmetropolitan origin migrants to perceive the new residence as better than the old on these items. Even for schools, which are not generally viewed as among the strongest assets of rural communities when compared with cities, a sizable minority of metropolitan origin migrants (44 percent) stated that schools were better in the new, rural setting. Only 24 percent felt that schools were better in the former, metropolitan residence.

Finally, the last two items in Table 4.7 describe perceptions of tax rates and living costs. Metropolitan origin migrants, as expected, are much more likely than nonmetropolitan origin migrants to say that taxes are lower in the new setting than in the old. A similar, but less pronounced contrast is apparent for perceived cost of living, the last item in the table. Metropolitan origin migrants are more likely than nonmetropolitan origin migrants to perceive themselves as "gainers" on cost of living. On this particular item, however, it was expected that a solid majority of metropolitan origin migrants would express the feeling that living costs were lower in their new setting. Although it is true that economic motives were not of paramount importance as reasons for the migration from metropolitan areas, there are strong reasons to suppose that average living costs in rural areas are less than in big cities. Only 43 percent of the metropolitan origin migrants felt that costs were lower in their chosen rural area, but 25 percent saw no difference and the balance

(34 percent, not shown in the table) felt that living costs were lower in the old, metropolitan place of residence. It is possible that the fairly severe inflation of recent years would tend to make earlier living costs in the city seem less high relative to current costs in the nonmetropolitan area. Metropolitan origin migrants may also find themselves spending substantial sums to maintain an urban lifestyle in these more rural areas. Alternatively, our expectation that metropolitan origin migrants would perceive living costs as lower may stem from a misperception on our part of life in the country (but see, for example, Mikesell (1977) on metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan housing costs). At this point we simply do not know why these respondents said what they did in answer to the question.

In general, it can be concluded from Table 4.7 that migrants from metropolitan areas feel that they have improved their quality of life as a result of moving into the high-growth counties. For them, the impact of the move has been positive. Amenities were of lesser importance as reasons for moving among nonmetropolitan origin migrants, and they are also much less likely to perceive that they have gained in this respect by making the move. Nor are the nonmetropolitan origin migrants necessarily losers, or negatively impacted, with respect to quality of life, we should add. Nonmetropolitan origin migrants were consistently more likely than metropolitan origin migrants to give the equivocal response indicating no difference between old and new places of residence. Thus we conclude that nonmetropolitan origin migrants, in comparison to metropolitan origin migrants, tend neither to gain nor lose very much in quality of life by moving. They experience less quality of life impact and most probably because the rural areas from which they moved were much like the growth counties on the characteristics around which questions were phrased.

Housing and Tenure Changes

One of the major motivations underlying local moving, as distinct from migration, is the desire to change housing. Migration hinges on different motivating forces (see Chapter 3), but housing change is involved in the process, by definition. Frequently such changes coincide with vertical social mobility and life cycle changes. It can't be determined directly for how many of the migrants a housing change may have been a precondition of the move, though housing was not frequently cited as a reason for leaving or for selecting a destination. Nor can the full extent of mobility and life cycle changes be determined. It is possible, however, to determine to what extent housing and tenure changes accompanied the move. The research can address, for example, the question of how many migrants lived in each type of housing in the former and current residences and how many sought a type of housing different from that in which they lived prior to the move. On the whole one would expect "gains" for the migrants over time, in the sense of higher proportions in

single family conventional housing, and increases in home ownership as well.

Housing, before and after

In both the former and current places of residence a majority of households in both migrant samples lived in conventional single-family dwellings (Table 4.9). There is little scope for "gain" here, as a matter of fact, since most migrants already lived in the generally preferred single-family type of dwelling before the move. The samples differ somewhat on the second most frequently cited type of residence, with almost one-fourth of the metropolitan origin movers living in apartments and duplexes and an eighth of the non-metropolitan origin movers living in mobile homes in the former residence. This difference probably reflects little more than metropolitan-nonmetropolitan differences in availability of these respective types of housing. A close look at the proportions living in these two types of housing combined will show that they are relatively stable categories across both residences, and for both samples, suggesting they may be equivalent types of housing. A cross-tabulation of type of housing in former and current residence supports this argument (Table 4.9). For both samples of migrants, apartment and mobile home dwellers are the two most likely to end up in apartments or mobile homes in their destination residence. The table also shows considerable "upward" movement into single-family dwellings, but it must be noted that there were relatively few families in the multiple and mobile home categories prior to the move for either sample.

A further examination of Table 4.8 will show a fairly close correspondence between the proportions of migrants who sought a particular type of housing and the proportions in the various types in the post-move residence. For both samples a slightly higher proportion is in single family housing and mobile homes than sought those types of housing, and a slightly smaller proportion is in apartments than sought apartments. There are, however, no major discrepancies. All of this would lead one to conclude that most migrants are satisfied with their housing and most found what they wanted. The migrants were not asked whether they were able to find the desired type of housing in a preferred location. Gain or loss on locational preferences remains an open question.

Looking at the distribution of migrants in each type of housing across the two locations (Table 4.8), it can be seen that for the metropolitan origin movers there was an increase in proportions living in conventional single family units and in mobile homes: only 5 percent had lived in mobile homes previously, now 14 percent do, and while 72 percent formerly lived in single family units, now 81 percent do. For the nonmetropolitan origin migrants the distributions across various housing types in the two locations are practically identical. What shifts are evident in the data seem to confirm

Table 4.9. Former and current housing type, by migrant group

Former type of housing	Single family conventional	Multiple family	Mobile home	Total	No. of cases
	Metropolitan origin movers — current housing				
	— Percentage —				
Single family conventional	87	2	11	100	358
Multiple family	73	12	15	100	114
Mobile home	48	9	44	100	23
	Nonmetropolitan origin movers — current housing				
	— Percentage —				
Single family conventional	81	8	11	100	156
Multiple family	67	29	4	100	24
Mobile home	52	—	48	100	25

Table 4.8. Type of housing in former residence, type sought in destination, and type in current residence, by migrant status

Housing type	Metropolitan origin migrants			Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		
	Pre-move housing	Type of housing sought	Current housing	Pre-move housing	Type of housing sought	Current housing
		— Percentage —			— Percentage —	
Single family conventional	72	79	81	75	70	76
Multiple family	23	6	5	12	11	10
Mobile home	5	9	14	12	12	15
Other (rooming house, etc.)	1	6	1	1	7	—
Base N	501	432	501	208	181	207

that for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants at least, the move did not have a shift in type of housing as one of the major underlying motives. There is some shifting taking place among the metropolitan origin migrants, as evidenced by the decrease in apartment living and an increase in mobile home living, and the shift from these two types of housing to single family dwellings. Thus, for some portion of the metropolitan origin movers the move represented not only a geographical change, but a change in type of housing as well, with some modest upgrading in type of housing. The general pattern for nonmetropolitan origin migrants, in Table 4.8, shows little change.

Tenure status and tenure changes

For both migrant samples the move also involved tenure shifts for many households; in both cases there were substantial changes in the proportions owning and renting their housing (Table 4.10). In the current residence there is an increase (18 percent) in proportion of households in each migrant group owning their homes and corresponding decreases in renting. Even with the high proportions of home ownership in the current residence, though, the two migrant samples fall short of the level of home ownership among area residents (90 percent). There is clear evidence of upward mobility nevertheless, since the proportions of both migrant samples owning their homes increased markedly after the move, as noted above. From a broader, comparative perspective, it also seems likely that the extent of home ownership for all three of our samples is high by national standards. Mikesell (1977) reports an average of 69 percent for owner-occupied residences in rapidly growing nonmetropolitan counties nationwide, using 1970 data. The higher proportions here may also result from the use of telephone subscription listings as a basis for sampling, however.

Summary and Discussion

This chapter has examined several areas of potential impact of migration on the migrants themselves. The findings are generally consistent with two somewhat different sets of ideas as explanations of the migration process, employment factors with respect to the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, and nonemployment factors with respect to migrants from metropolitan areas. Migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas tended to move for employment reasons and therefore experienced less and/or less-lasting employment and economic disruption as a result of the move, and they were more likely to experience long-run gains. They were less likely, however, to perceive gains in quality of life. A positive impact on quality of life was typical of the responses of the metropolitan origin migrants, and they were more likely to have sought such gains in making the move. By the same token, metropolitan origin migrants were less likely to have tried to maximize economic benefits by moving and

Table 4.10. Tenure status in former and current residence for migrants and tenure status of area residents

Tenure status	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		Long-term residents
	Former residence	Current residence	Former residence	Current residence	Current residence
	— Percentage —				
Own housing	66	84	58	76	90
Rent	33	14	37	23	9
Live with relatives or employer provided housing	1	2	4	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Base N	499	498	206	208	424

thus were more likely than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants to experience at least a short-run disjuncture with respect to jobs and income. Both types of migrants seem to have upgraded their housing via the move and to have gained in achieving ownership of their homes. Housing and tenure changes weren't expected to be patterned in terms of the motivational differences (employment and nonemployment) stimulating migration for the two groups, at least not as directly as job and income versus quality of life indicators. Thus it is not inconsistent with the general argument that both groups appear to gain. Broadly speaking, both types of migrants can be described as holding their own or gaining, after some shortrun disjunctures, and the gains stand out most clearly if one takes into account the differences in reasons for moving. The conclusion is that somewhat different sets of factors must be taken into account in explaining and understanding the consequences of migration at the individual or household level for migrants from metropolitan as against nonmetropolitan origins.

Chapter 5

MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT AND INTEGRATION IN THE NEW RESIDENCE

Nina Glasgow and Andrew J. Sofranko

Even if moves are voluntary and viewed favorably by individuals, residential change is initially disruptive and costs—monetary as well as social—are involved. The main issues examined in this chapter are the extent and types of adjustment problems metropolitan origin migrants experience and the factors influencing adjustment and integration.

Adjustment difficulties indicate problem areas for community integration and reflect on migrants' ability to meet their daily living needs. Adjustment problems also are likely to have a bearing on perceptions of the new community as a satsifactory place in which to live. By examining specific adjustment difficulties of migrants, one can perhaps pinpoint some of the deficiencies of these high growth nonmetropolitan areas.

The analysis of **adjustment** proceeds by assessing migrants' perceptions of their overall adjustment difficulty, their specific adjustment difficulties and, finally, their perceptions of the main adjustment problem. The analysis then focuses on how adjustment is related to migrants' pre-existing ties in the area of destination, to the degree of residential change involved in the move, their reasons for moving, and to their sociodemographic characteristics.

Integration, which refers to the extent to which residents of an area are linked by ties of exchange in social, economic, and political transactions, has traditionally been indexed by measures of formal and informal participation, place of acquisition of consumer goods and services, and the presence or absence of friendships (Rossi, 1972). The term implies that persons have developed a social anchorage in and an identity with their place of residence.

Questions on integration are among those most frequently raised about the migration turnaround phenomenon. First, there is the question of how actively involved, organizationally and economically, migrants will become in the new area and, second, whether migrants are likely to move again after a short period of time if social integration is a problem. Some may fear on the one hand that migrants will become "overintegrated" in their new residences to the extent that they become more heavily involved in organizations and activities than residents of the community and, on the other, that they will fail to become integrated at all. If they do not integrate economically, for example, benefits which would accrue to the destination area will be reduced and if overall integration does not occur the migrants may de-

cide to move elsewhere. This issue will be considered in detail as the analysis proceeds.

Adjustment of Migrants in the New Residence

Apparently, few adjustment difficulties are involved in moving to a nonmetropolitan origin residence. Approximately two-thirds of both the metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants reported that their "overall adjustment" in the new residence was "not difficult at all" (Table 5.1); five percent or less felt it was "very difficult." Comparing the two migrant groups, the metropolitan origin migrants had only slightly greater difficulty than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants in adjusting to the nonmetropolitan residence. Still, the one-third reporting at least some difficulty represents a sizeable proportion of the migrants. It also should be noted that migrants who experienced severe problems may have already moved away, resulting in this rather positive image of adjustment.

In data not shown here, in which a further breakdown by duration of residence was used, it was found that the comparatively more recent inmigrants (moves undertaken between 1975 and 1977) were only slightly more likely than earlier inmigrants (1970-1974) to report adjustment difficulties. This was true for metropolitan as well as nonmetropolitan origin migrants, lending additional support to the finding that the majority of migrants has not experienced difficulty in adjusting to nonmetropolitan residences.

Most long-distance migrants, regardless of the type of residential change involved, are assumed to experience some problems. For some it involves finding employment or the types of consumer goods they were accustomed to; for others, it may be establishing friendships or joining clubs or organizations. Since many of the metropolitan origin migrants are moving to much smaller communities and to countryside residences, one would expect opportunities and the quality and range of services in the new residence to be quite different from those to which the migrants were accustomed. There may be, for example, difficulty in finding employ-

Table 5.1 Overall adjustment difficulty, by migrant type

Overall difficulty in getting used to living in new residence	Migrant type	
	Metropolitan origin migrants	Nonmetropolitan origin migrants
	— Percentage —	
"Very difficult"	5	5
"Somewhat difficult"	16	13
"Not very difficult"	12	13
"Not difficult at all"	67	69
Base N	500	208

ment or the desired type of employment, finding particular goods and services, establishing friendships, or in joining clubs and organizations. These would be especially problematic adjustments if the migrants have quite different life styles and beliefs and values than the residents of the areas in which they are locating.

All of the migrants were asked whether they had any of the specific adjustment difficulties mentioned above and to indicate their biggest adjustment difficulty. The findings, reported in Table 5.2, show that the biggest adjustment difficulties for the metropolitan origin and the nonmetropolitan origin migrants alike, were buying consumer goods they were accustomed to (22 percent and 16 percent of the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan origin migrants, respectively) and getting good medical care (19 percent and 15 percent, respectively). The discrepancy between the two migrant groups suggests that, at least with regard to the provision of these two types of services, metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas are not identical. The nonmetropolitan origin migrants, who most likely originated in a similar service environment, had somewhat less difficulty in adjusting to these two particular services than the metropolitan origin migrants. The differences, however, are not great.

Making new friends was the third difficulty cited, with 8 percent of the metropolitan origin and 10 percent of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants responding that this was their biggest adjustment difficulty. The similarity of the proportions suggests that making new friends is simply a problem associated with moving rather than a problem associated with the origins of the migrants. Few migrants report that finding a job was their main adjustment difficulty (5 percent and 8 percent, respectively), which is somewhat surprising

Table 5.2. Percentage of migrants with no adjustment problems and distribution of responses on main adjustment difficulty for those with adjustment problems, by migrant type

	Migrant type	
Adjustment difficulties	**Metropolitan origin migrants**	**Nonmetropolitan origin migrants**
Had no adjustment problems	36	45
Had adjustment problems	64	55
Main problem reported:		
Buying consumer goods	22	16
Getting good medical care	19	15
Making new friends	8	10
Finding a job	5	8
Joining clubs or organizations	1	1
Other adjustment problems	9	5
Base N	501	208

given that 17 percent of the metropolitan origin males and 19 percent of the metropolitan origin females reported that they were temporarily unemployed immediately after the move (see Chapter 4, Table 4.2). Practically no one felt that joining clubs and organizations was their biggest adjustment difficulty, indicating either that there was a low priority among migrants on such activities or that gaining membership was, in fact, no problem.

To summarize, even though a majority of the migrants felt that adjustment to living in the new residence was not difficult, when queried about specific problems, more than half of all the migrants indicated a particular adjustment problem or problems. There were also some sizeable differences between the two migrant groups. For example, there is a 10 percent difference between metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants in the proportions who had adjustment difficulties. This provides some support for the earlier expectation that nonmetropolitan origin migrants, by virtue of their similarity in residences at places of origin and destination, would have been able to adjust somewhat more readily to the nonmetropolitan areas than the metropolitan origin migrants. In terms of specific adjustments, the two problem areas are getting good medical care and purchasing the types of consumer goods the migrants were used to purchasing. These are less serious problems for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, but for them, too, these stand out among the specific adjustments about which they were asked.

Some influences on migrants' adjustment

Migration research has emphasized the role of factors such ties to the area of destination, the cultural disparity between residences, and distance moved, as well as a variety of socioeconomic and family influences on adjustment ease and difficulty. The general feeling in the research had been that regardless of where migrants originated, those with acquaintances in the destination areas would experience less difficulty in adjusting to the new community than those who had not known anyone in the area prior to the move. Data looking at this relationship are presented in Table 5.3.

It is clear that contacts in the area are a facilitating factor in adjustment. Almost 40 percent of the metropolitan origin migrants with no contacts in the area had some difficulty, compared with 30 percent or less for those with kinship ties or friends and acquaintances (Table 5.3). It is evident, however, that while friends and other contacts can help ease adjustment, they cannot eliminate all problems. Further, having any type of contact seems to facilitate adjustment, although it seems that having kinship ties to the area serves to make adjustment somewhat easier than merely having friends or acquaintances in an area. An identical, and even stronger, relationship holds for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

There also is a strong relationship between prior residence in the area and adjustment (Table 5.3). The proportion of respondents re-

Table 5.3. Percentage of migrants with various types of ties to the destination area who have had some difficulty, by migrant type

Ties to destination	Migrant type			
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	Base N	%	Base N	%
No ties in destination area	116	39[a]	53	38
Type of Ties:				
Kinship ties in area	231	28	83	20
Friends and acquaintances in area	295	30	135	27
Prior residence in area:				
Both respondent and spouse	51	22	33	24
Respondent or spouse	102	30	35	31
Owned property in area:				
Yes	172	27	157	25
No	329	34	51	32

[a]The percentages reported in the table are the combined responses of those reporting that overall adjustment was "very difficult" or "somewhat difficult."

porting "some difficulty" in adjusting to the new community drops for those households with prior residence. When both respondent and spouse are return-migrants to the area, the proportion reporting adjustment difficulty drops considerably from what it is for those with no ties (from 30 percent to 22 percent). Again, we see the same pattern among the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, although it appears that having only one return migrant in the household is not that great an aid in adjusting. Another type of tie, owning property (either housing or land) in an area also decreases the likelihood of experiencing adjustment problems, and for the simple reason that it probably is a proxy for extensive familiarity with the area. In general, whether the ties to the area were through friends and relatives, prior residence in the area, or property ownership, having had ties made adjustment to the new community easier.

Adjustment and residence characteristics

It seems reasonable to ask whether the shifts in size of place entailed by the move had any effect on adjustment. Most of the metropolitan origin migrants have gone from large urban areas to smaller rural towns and villages and to the countryside. Migration from a large urban center to a nonmetropolitan area might represent a major cultural change, especially if the destination place is very small. Assuming that the discrepancy between size of former and current residences may be an influential factor in adjustment, a measure was constructed which took into account the size of both residences simultaneously. The size-of-place categories used in

Chapter 2 provided a means for determining the extent of residential change. Migrants were categorized as undergoing no residential shift if their origin and destination residences were in the same size-of-place category. Where differences existed these were categorized either as undergoing a shift to a larger or smaller place.

Metropolitan origin migrants moving from larger to smaller communities are more likely to experience adjustment difficulties than those moving to similar sized or larger places (Table 5.4). The differences, though, are not that large and, anyway, virtually all are shifting down. Surprisingly, a much larger proportion of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants who made no shift in terms of size of place of residence reported some adjustment difficulty than did those who made either type of shift. One can only guess what this finding implies. The data point out that regardless of whether a shift in size of place is involved, adjustment difficulties are likely to occur. Moving to similar sized places does not seem to facilitate adjustment among metropolitan origin migrants and seems to even hinder it for nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

Finally, a look at the relationship between distance moved and adjustment shows that longer-distance migrants among both samples have higher levels of adjustment difficulty than shorter distance movers, using nonadjacency/adjacency of the county from which migrants moved as the index of distance (Table 5.4). Shorter distance moves entailed fewer disruptions in migrants' lives and the greater familiarity with nearby locations contributed to the lower level of adjustment difficulty among the shorter-distance movers.

Table 5.4. Migrants experiencing adjustment difficulty, by degree of residential change and distance moved and by migrant type

Degree of residential change	Migrant type			
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	Base N	%	Base N	%
Residential shift:				
No change	34	29[a]	62	45
From smaller to larger place	8	25	39	28
From larger to smaller place	437	33	91	23
Distance moved:				
From nonadjacent county	458	33	111	40
From adjacent county	41	27	97	20

[a]The percentages reported in the table are the combined responses of those reporting that overall adjustment was 'very difficult' or 'somewhat difficult.'

Motivations for move and adjustment

Migrants have expressed a number of different reasons for their migration decisions. The question raised here is whether migrants

moving for different reasons are more or less prone to experience adjustment difficulties. Probably not as much choice can be exercised in making employment related moves than is possible when the move has been for other reasons, for example, environmental or retirement reasons. Therefore, the reason-for-move responses were dichotomized to reflect employment and nonemployment motivations. In Table 5.5 where reasons for leaving the prior residence and for choosing the area of destination are related to adjustment difficulty, it can be seen that employment-motivated decisions are associated with more adjustment difficulty than migration decisions made on nonemployment grounds. The data suggest that constraining factors are involved in employment-related moves; jobs must be accepted in places where jobs are available, or in areas which may not have optimal appeal as places to work, and job transfer moves may involve little personal choice with regard to job location. Thus, in a sense many of the employment-motivated moves are more involuntary than moves based on other considerations.

Table 5.5. Percentage of migrants reporting adjustment difficulties, by reason for move and for destination selection, by migrant type

Reasons for move and for destination selection	Migrant type			
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	Base N	%	Base N	%
Reason for leaving prior residence:				
Employment	122	42[a]	96	40
Nonemployment	378	30	111	23
Reason for choosing area of destination:				
Employment	105	50	86	40
Nonemployment	395	28	121	26

[a]The percentages reported in the table are the combined responses of those reporting that overall adjustment was "very difficult" or "somewhat difficult."

Migrant characteristics and adjustment difficulties

Personal characteristics of migrants may be indicators of subsequent adjustment difficulties. Age, education, and income of migrants, for example, may be indicators of expectations, needs, or individuals skills needed to make satisfactory adjustments. The data discussed in this section, therefore, are important to consider in determining if migrants with particular characteristics are more likely to experience problems.

The data show that, for both the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan origin migrants, the older migrants (55 and over) experienced less adjustment difficulty than the young or middle aged groups (Table 5.6). On the other hand, as level of education increases

Table 5.6. Percentage of migrants reporting some adjustment difficulties by age, education, and income, by migrant type

Migrant characteristics	Migrant type			
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	Base N	%	Base N	%
Age				
35 and under	153	37[a]	88	33
36-54	161	33	64	38
55 and over	187	29	56	18
Education				
Less than high school	121	28	34	18
High school graduate	210	33	91	29
College	168	36	82	39
Income				
Under $10,000	221	34	90	26
$10,000 and over	233	30	110	34

[a]The percentages reported in the table are the combined responses of those reporting that overall adjustment was "very difficult" or "somewhat difficult."

so does difficulty in adjusting to the residence for both migrant samples. These data suggest that the young and better educated migrants may have higher expectations relative to what the community should provide, whereas the older and less well educated migrants may have lower expectations and make fewer demands on their new localities. The pattern of findings for income is not consistent, however. Metropolitan origin migrants with higher incomes report fewer adjustment difficulties. For the nonmetropolitan origin migrants the reverse is seen. Perhaps this finding indicates that financial costs were greater for the longer distance metropolitan origin movers, and thus the move was especially burdensome economically for lower income metropolitan origin migrants. The pattern for nonmetropolitan origin migrants may reflect what we have already pointed out with regard to age and education.

In summary, a majority of the migrants report that adjusting to the move was not difficult. However, when migrants were asked about specific types of adjustment problems a majority reported some particular difficulty, the most frequently mentioned being buying consumer goods and getting medical services. The discrepancy between the proportion of metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants citing these adjustment difficulties was explained in terms of higher expectations on the part of the metropolitan origin migrants and in terms of the age composition of the two samples—in the metropolitan origin sample there are more elderly migrants who have more difficulty in getting access to these types of services. The fact that both migrant groups would cite these two problems more than others should constitute some evidence of deficiencies in these services in nonmetropolitan areas and should be given attention for possible community improvement.

In looking at some of the factors which might allay adjustment in the new residence, it was shown that ties in the area of destination prior to the move did faciliate adjustment somewhat, but size differences between prior and current places of residence did not have much bearing on adjustment. Distance moved did; those who moved to an adjacent county were less likely to have adjustment difficulties. Looking at motivations underlying migration decisions, migrants who moved for employment reasons were more likely to experience adjustment difficulties than persons moving for nonemployment reasons.

Fewer older migrants had adjustment difficulties, while those with higher education had more adjustment difficulty. Income presents a confusing picture; its effect is different for the two samples. Metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants had similar kinds of problems. Even though metropolitan origin migrants were making greater changes in the types of areas from which they were moving, they seem to have adapted quite well to rural living. At least metropolitan origin migrants seem to adjust about as well to nonmetropolitan areas as do the nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

Integration of Migrants in the New Residence

One of the central questions being raised currently about the migration of metropolitan residents to nonmetropolitan areas is what their involvement will be in the new residences. There is concern that, if level of integration is sufficiently low, migrants may want to move again soon. Conversely, over-integration raises the spectre of control over local affairs falling to "newcomers" (Hennigh, 1978).

Integration is a multidimensional notion which includes ties to a locality by means of a variety of social, economic, and political transactions. General community involvement, organizational participation, location for purchases of goods, and place of significant friendships are frequently used as measures of integration. Prior research has tended to focus on the social dimensions of integration while neglecting the economic dimension. This section will focus on both. One of the main integration measures is frequency of return visits and types of contact that are maintained with the prior residence—what has been termed "residual integration". Another is service sector integration, which is measured by distances traveled to acquire a number of goods and services. Finally, one can look at how migrants compare with residents on measures of general community involvement.

Residual integration of migrants

The data on residual integration provide information on the extent to which migrants have disengaged themselves from the prior

residence. This is an important area of investigation if we are to establish the ultimate impact of migrants on their new residence. There is some reason to believe that the two migrant samples may differ on specific types of residual integration. The metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants may be more likely to maintain service sector contacts with the prior residence because services are presumably better in the urban area. The nonmetropolitan origin migrants, on the other hand, are more likely to be short distance movers and, thus, have more opportunities for maintaining social ties and contacts.

How much and what types of contact have migrants maintained with their former residences, and what are their reasons for maintaining the contacts? Data addressing these questions are presented in Table 5.7. Approximately 70 percent of both migrant groups have made return visits to the prior residence at some time since they left. When taking an average of the number of return visits per year, however, we find that the nonmetropolitan origin migrants have maintained greater contact than the metropolitan origin mi-

Table 5.7. Percentage maintaining contact with prior residence, selected characteristics, and reasons contact is maintained with prior residence, by group

Contact with prior residence, selected characteristics, and reasons for return visits	Migrant type			
	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	Base N	%	Base N	%
Have returned for visit(s)	501	70	208	69
Reasons for visit(s):				
Visit friends or relatives	350	92	144	92
Shopping	350	35	144	33
Medical care	350	30	144	28
Employment	350	9	144	10
Selected characteristics of returnees:				
Age				
Under 35	153	68	88	70
35-54	161	77	64	77
55 and over	187	65	56	59
Income				
Under $10,000	221	64	90	63
$10,000 and over	233	76	110	74
Household composition				
Single person	60	50	25	60
Married couple	164	76	63	68
Married couple with child(ren)	228	72	95	74
Respondent with child(ren)	22	64	11	64
Other	27	63	14	64

grants, 17 visits compared to 12 visits per year (data not shown). This finding is probably a reflection of the fact that nonmetropolitan origin migrants are more likely than the metropolitan origin migrants to have moved from an adjacent county, thus allowing the nonmetropolitan origin migrants greater opportunities for maintaining contact and taking return trips to the prior residence.

To get a better idea of who among the migrants have maintained contact with the prior residence, the relationships between selected migrant characteristics and percent returning were examined. Table 5.7 shows that among both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan origin migrants, it is the 35-54 age group, higher income, and married couple or married couple with children households who were most likely to have returned to visit the prior residence. These data indicate that interest and/or ability to maintain contact with the prior residence, indeed, vary by migrants' socioeconomic characteristics.

Migrants in general are far more likely to return to their prior residences to visit friends and relatives than for any other reason (Table 5.7). Over 90 percent of the returnees give social contacts as the reason for going back. Approximately 30 percent of both migrant groups had returned for medical care and to shop, but very few of the migrants (9% of the metropolitan origin and 10% of the nonmetropolitan origin) have maintained contact with the prior residence through their jobs. These latter figures are further evidence that the migration phenomenon we are discussing is essentially not an exurban movement involving only a change of residence. Very few return to work, and over time there is further attrition in employment ties to the former residence. A crosstabulation of employment ties in the former residence by duration of residence shows that the proportions returning to the prior residence is lower among the migrants who moved in during the early part of the decade than among those moving in more recently. For example, 11 percent of the metropolitan origin and 14 percent of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants who moved in within the past four years are employed in the former residence, whereas only 8 and 6 percent, respectively, of the metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin migrants who moved in at an earlier date return to the former residence to work. Diminished employment contacts with the former residence over time may reflect absorption in the labor force of local or nearby communities, or perhaps even retirement.

In summary, the two migrant groups are essentially identical in the proportions who return to their former residences and on the types of contact they have maintained with their former residences. The nonmetropolitan origin migrants were about as likely to return to their former residences to purchase goods and services, work, or maintain social contacts as were the metropolitan origin migrants. The metropolitan origin migrants, though, did not visit the former residence as often as the nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

Migrant integration in the local service sector

Three questions underlie the discussion on service sector integration and community involvement: first, whether integration is any easier for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, who moved shorter distances and to similar residential locations, than it is for the metropolitan origin migrants; second, what some of the factors are which inhibit or facilitate integration; and third, how integrated are the migrants in relation to residents?

The measure of integration into the local service or economic sector is based on responses to questions asking how far migrants and residents traveled to purchase a variety of goods and services. Means of distances traveled were calculated separately for those living inside and outside the city limits of their present places of residence, because as we have seen earlier, about two thirds of the metropolitan origin migrants live in unincorporated areas.

The data in Table 5.8 show that the metropolitan origin migrants generally travel greater distances to purchase goods and services than either the nonmetropolitan origin migrants or the residents. However, the metropolitan origin migrants in general live longer distances from the centers of the towns of residence than either the nonmetropolitan origin migrants or the residents, and so the figures in Table 5.8 should not be interpreted to mean that metropolitan origin movers are returning to their former residences for these particular services. A further examination of the distribution of actual miles traveled to acquire the various goods and services indicates that the majority of the migrants, as well as the residents, find most services locally (data not presented). However, of those who travel long distances (100-300 miles) to shop and obtain services, most are metropolitan origin movers. There is, thus, slight evidence that the metropolitan origin migrants are more likely to travel longer distances to purchase goods and services than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants or the residents. What cannot be answered specifically is whether this trend toward more travel by the metropolitan origin migrants reflects their residential location or their predilection toward variety in their purchases, making comparisons or simply "shopping around."

It is apparent in Table 5.8 that grocery shopping and banking are done locally. The slight variations across samples probably reflect little more than differences in residential location. Migrants *and* residents travel considerably greater distances to obtain medical services and make major expenditures such as the purchase of appliances. We have documented earlier the problem many migrants expressed in finding the types of products and the range of goods and services they were used to in the former residence. The present data suggest that residents experience a similar problem. Those living in rural areas, migrants and residents alike, appear to have to find many services in other, probably larger, nearby communities.

Table 5.8. Mean distances traveled to obtain selected services for persons living inside and outside corporate limits of residence locations, by respondent type

Services	Place of residence					
	Inside corporate limits			Outside corporate limits		
	Metropolitan origin migrants	Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	Residents	Metropolitan origin migrants	Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	Residents
	— Average number of miles traveled —					
Grocery shopping	4	3	2	10	9	9
Banking	5	2	3	9	9	9
Obtain medical services	12	8	10	21	15	17
Major appliance purchase	18	10	12	25	18	17
Base N	170	96	189	329	111	237

Community involvement and ties to the area of destination

It is widely debated whether preexisting ties in destination areas hinder or promote integration of movers. Ties are thought to inhibit social integration into a new community if migrants rely heavily on prior acquaintances for social contacts while exerting little effort to get involved in community activities or to make new friends. Alternatively, ties may be very functional in helping with moving, locating employment, providing temporary lodging, establishing friendships, and in a variety of other ways. It is precisely this issue which will be examined in the next section where several types of preexisting ties are considered: prior residence in the area, family and relatives in the area, and friends or acquaintances in the destination area.

The relationship of prior residence in an area to integration has not been explored in earlier research. It is reasonable to expect that return migrants integrate more easily into the community than primary migrants. Presumably they have prior knowledge of opportunities for participation or of the means for getting into community activities. A similar type of argument could be made for the other types of ties, although it is possible that pre-move ties are dysfunctional. An over-reliance on friends and relatives may actually impede the integration of individuals into the new residences (cf. Reiger and Beegle, 1974 for such a conclusion).

The community involvement-integration measures used are: regular attendance at religious services and membership in clubs or organizations.

The data relating preexisting ties to community involvement, or integration, are presented in Table 5.9. Over all, there is a very slight tendency for some types of pre-move ties to inhibit community involvement. For example, involvement is lower in number of memberships for migrants with relatives or family in the area, but migrants with relatives or family are more likely than others to belong to at least one club or organization. Return and non-return migrant households are about equally involved in community activities (Table 5.9), suggesting that prior residence in an area does not predispose migrants toward participation in the types of community affairs and activities on which we have data. More importantly, having no pre-move ties to an area does not seem to be much of a hindrance as far as these types of community involvement are concerned. Those with no ties to the area demonstrate a capacity for joining clubs and organizations about equal to that of migrants with a variety of pre-move ties in the area.

Community involvement and length of residence

Is length of residence related to increased community involvement? The question is frequently raised because it is felt that migrants are apt to require a period of adaptation before they become involved in community affairs and activities. The length of residence

Table 5.9. Community involvement and migrants' ties to destination area, by migrant type

Ties to the area of destination	Metropolitan origin migrants				Nonmetropolitan origin migrants			
	Attended religious services		Member one or more clubs or organizations	Club and organizational memberships	Attended religious services		Member one or more clubs or organizations	Club and organizational memberships
	Base N	%	%	X	Base N	%	%	X
No ties	116	57	54	.74	53	51	47	.85
Type of ties:								
Relatives or family	231	54	59	.69	83	63	56	.60
Friends or acquaintances	295	49	50	.81	135	59	55	.71
Prior residence in area:								
Return migrant households	153	56	50	.75	68	57	47	.73
Nonreturn migrant households	348	50	57	.76	140	56	54	.75

Table 5.10. Percentage of respondents involved in community activities and their mean number of memberships, by duration of residence

Community participation measure	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		
	Later migrants	Earlier migrants	Later migrants	Earlier migrants	Residents
Attend religious services	53%	51%	52%	63%	66%
Member one or more clubs or organizations	51%	56%	53%	51%	55%
Mean number of club and organizational membership	.67	.78	.79	.67	.96
Base N	142	358	74	133	426

measure used in examining how time affects involvement relies on a comparison of *earlier* migrants (who moved to the rural location between 1970-73) with *later* migrants (who moved between 1974-77). The community involvement measures are those already discussed in the preceding section. The resident sample is used as a comparison group against which migrants' levels of involvement-integration can be compared.

Earlier migrants, metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin, are not more integrated into activities in their areas than recent migrants (Table 5.10). Earlier nonmetropolitan origin migrants show higher levels of participation in religious service attendance than the metropolitan origin migrants, and the earlier metropolitan origin migrants have higher levels of organizational involvement, but neither migrant group has a level of involvement approaching that of the long-term residents. Nonetheless, it appears that, over time, migrants become more integrated into their new residences via some form of activity, although their level of involvement falls short of that of residents, even among migrants who have been in the area several years. The data hardly suggest that the migrants are an overactive segment of the population, joining any and all organizations.

Summary and Discussion

The focus of this chapter has been on the adjustment and integration components of adaptation to the community. The migrants, of both metropolitan origin and nonmetropolitan origin, seem to have adapted to their new residences with relative ease. Most of the migrants experienced few or no adjustment problems, and differences between the migrants were not great, even though the move represented a greater change in environment for the metropolitan origin migrants. When specific adjustment problems were experienced, they generally consisted of buying consumer goods in the local area and getting good medical care. Making new friends, finding a job, and joining clubs and organizations were less problematic adjustments. Many of these latter adjustment difficulties were apparently obviated by the contacts in and ties with the destination area that the migrants had prior to the move.

Preexisting area ties facilitated adjustment, suggesting that the help friends and relatives give migrants in finding employment, obtaining services, locating housing, etc., serves to buffer some of the distress associated with moving. Prior residence and property ownership, which spare some migrants the task of locating housing in the area, facilitated adjustment as well. In summary, the data indicate that the presence of social networks, the familiarity gained from having lived in an area before, and property ownership ease migrants' adjustment to a new area.

The lower incidence of adjustment difficulties among migrants moving from an adjacent county suggests that distance is a factor in adjustment. It may be that distance is related to familiarity with the

new residence or the fact that shorter distance moves allow migrants to return more often to the former residence. Making a residential change that involved a shift in size of place did not appreciably affect adjustment difficulty. This finding is somewhat surprising for the metropolitan origin migrants, given the fact that those who moved from metropolitan areas must have experienced some resource and opportunity "costs."

Employment-related moves were associated with greater adjustment difficulty than moves undertaken for nonemployment reasons, one possible explanation being that employment-related moves probably do not involve as much flexibility or personal preference in destination selection as nonemployment moves. Data in Chapter 3 show that employment movers, unlike other types of movers, choose destinations largely on the basis of employment opportunities.

Younger, better educated migrants reported greater adjustment difficulty than older and more poorly educated migrants, suggesting that age and education interact as determining factors in level of expectation of what a community should provide in the way of resources and opportunities. On the other hand, the data may simply suggest that older persons have had the opportunity to become secure enough economically that a move is not as great a financial hardship.

The data on integration suggest that, even though a high proportion of migrants have maintained contact with their prior residences, they have developed extensive ties of exchange in the local economy and involved themselves in community affairs and activities in the new residence. However, the level of integration in the service sector seems to be somewhat lower for the metropolitan origin migrants than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants and the residents. Metropolitan origin migrants travel greater distances than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants or residents to purchase goods and services, but since they also are more likely to live in the countryside, the findings may not be that striking. Migrants and residents alike tend to travel outside the local area for medical services and to purchase major items. This is consistent with the migrants' expression that their biggest adjustment difficulties in moving to the nonmetropolitan areas were in purchasing goods and services and in getting good medical care.

Community participation varies by type of activity, and level of involvement of both migrant groups falls short of that of the residents. There was only minimal support for the proposition that social network ties to the area of destination are a source of social gratification which inhibits migrants' involvement in other community activities. Those with relatives living in the area were only slightly less likely to participate in as many community activities, while, as length of residence increased, community involvement generally increased.

Part II

Some Implications of the New Migration

INTRODUCTION

The influx of new residents into rural areas is being viewed as a turnaround in more than numbers alone, and one way or another most of the questions being posed about the new migration ultimately turn to its implications for rural areas. The influx is seen as both representing an opportunity for redressing the problems associated with past out migration and as posing a threat to the life styles and institutions in rural areas. This benefit-burden paradox, which is currently being given considerable media and research attention, is an issue which has had little documentation.

The impact question is generally raised in terms of demographic and cultural dimensions. One of the basic assumptions of the demographic aspect is that the composition of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream is different from the residents in the nonmetropolitan destination areas. Recent research using secondary migration data and the data presented in Chapter 1 demonstrate that migrants going from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas are younger, better educated, and likely to have higher occupational status than nonmetropolitan residents. However, it has been pointed out that at the same time metropolitan origin migrants are moving in, the high growth areas in the study are experiencing inflows from other nonmetropolitan areas and losing migrants to other metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas alike. The differences between migrants and residents, and the fact that migrants are coming from urban environments which are assumed to be different from those they are relocating in, has fueled speculation that the two groups should exhibit differences in values, attitudes, and preferences. And, it is these differences which may eventually get translated into demands and behaviors which are at odds with those of the local residents. A debate now centers on the magnitude as well as on the direction of differences between metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants and residents. Would migrants exhibit, for instance, a more progressive orientation, that is, a greater dissatisfaction with conditions in their destination areas and as a result an increased receptivity toward changing various aspects of these areas? Or, would migrants more likely be conservative toward improvements in the new area and more inclined to support measures that would protect those aspects of rural living which attracted them to the area? Metropolitan origin migrants are frequently viewed as a potential economic liability insofar as spending and taxing are concerned and as a potential economic constraint if they are more opposed than area residents to development strategies which they feel would destroy the appeal and character of life in the more rural areas.

Chapter 6 focuses on several facets of the growth and development issue, one of the key areas of presumed conflict between migrants and residents. The question addressed is whether migrants and residents hold different views on this particular issue. The data will be able to establish if migrants are more receptive toward tax-

page 106 - Blank

ing to improve various aspects of the new community and less receptive than residents toward various population growth and development policies and strategies that would encourage growth.

All assumptions regarding the potential impact of the new migration have to be couched in qualifications about the permanence of migrants in their destinations. In effect, the question of whether migrants remain is the ultimate impact issue, for if they are likely to be only short-term residents in their new areas, there will be little long-term impact. Thus, for obvious reasons, one of the frequent questions raised by the new migration trend concerns the residential permanence of inmigrants, the topic of Chapter 7. The main question is what portion of the recent migrants expects to eventually move and what portion expects to remain indefinitely? More importantly, what are the conditions which predispose migrants toward expecting to remain or leave, and if expectations are actualized, what types of recent migrant individuals and households will leave? Many of these questions will be answered by looking at the overall satisfaction of migrants with their current residence and by reporting on their mobility expectations. Comparisons between migrants and residents provides insight into whether recent migrants are disposed toward a future move.

Chapter 6

IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW MIGRATION FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Frederick C. Fliegel

This chapter addresses the general question of what effect, if any, the new migration may have on the high-growth, predominantly rural areas where the migrants have settled. The fact that many of the nonmetropolitan counties from which data were obtained have been losing population until recently, and are now gaining, would in itself suggest that some changes might follow from the growth in numbers. More importantly, it has repeatedly been shown in earlier chapters that the migrant samples differ in certain respects from local residents. Here, the question is: So what? What difference does it make that new people, who are somewhat different from local residents, are moving in?

An assortment of case studies and reports of particular growth areas suggest that metropolitan origin migrants may bring with them a new set of expectations which upset the status quo in rural areas. An Oregon community is reported to have problems approving school budgets when traditional leadership is challenged (Hennigh, 1978). Controversy over land use is a problem in a scenic area in Wyoming (Cockerham and Blevins, 1977). A California study (Sokolow, 1977) points to difficulties in enforcing housing codes as migrants establish themselves in remote areas. And, at the other end of the nation, a study of migrants to rural areas in Maine (Ploch, 1978) draws attention to the enrichment of local cultural resources as young, highly educated individuals and families bring new ideas and energies to the growth areas. Many other examples could be cited (for an overview, see Schwarzweller, 1978). Some stress the problems associated with growth; others stress the benefits. All focus on the consequences of the new migration to rural areas. This study permits a much broader look at impact questions in that the samples are drawn from many different locations over an entire region. On at least a few impact questions, it is possible to determine at a regional level what some of the consequences of g[illegible]h are for the receiving areas.

This chapter is [illegible]ded into three sections. The first raises some very elementary questions: To what extent are local residents, and also migrants, even aware of population growth, and to what extent do they view it as a problem? Is growth a salient issue? That sets the stage for a second section on growth as it may affect attitudes toward increases in local taxes to provide better services or improve existing ones. Here the comparisons of responses from not only the metropolitan origin migrants and long-term residents, but also the

111

nonmetropolitan origin migrants, are particularly important. Implicit in much of the writing on the community impacts of migration is the assumption that whatever bane or blessing follows from migration it is attributable to former urbanites. This position tends to obscure the fact that growing rural areas are attracting migrants from other rural areas as well, and the comparison of metropolitan origin with nonmetropolitan origin migrants can correct some misperceptions concerning migrant impact. Finally, the third section of the chapter compares the samples on their attitudes toward controlling growth and development. Many rural communities are facing development issues, and it was felt that any differences in expectations of migrants versus residents would come into sharpest focus in the area of guidelines for development.

Is Growth Perceived as Problematic?

Sample counties were selected because of relatively rapid growth, so it would seem to be redundant to ask respondents whether they are aware of the growth taking place. Nevertheless, unless there is local sensitivity to population growth there is little point in raising hypothetical questions about impact in these rural areas. Table 6.1 makes it clear that there is indeed a high level of awareness of population growth among respondents in all three categories, as one might expect. Considerably less obvious is the fact that the bulk of the respondents in all three samples view the increase as good. Residents are slightly less likely to perceive the growth as unequivocally good and slightly more likely to perceive it as bad rather than just being indifferent to it, but there is clearly no basis here for arguing that longer term residents resent migrants moving into "their" communities. On the contrary, there seems to be an extraordinarily high degree of consensus that population "growth is good." These results make it very clear that on a regional basis,

Table 6.1. Respondents, by group, who perceive population of county as increasing or decreasing and view increase as good or bad

Respondents who say:	Respondent group		
	Metropolitan origin migrant (N = 415)	Nonmetropolitan origin migrant (N = 174)	Resident (N = 359)
	— Percentage —		
Population is increasing	88	89	89
Increase is good	74	77	70
Increase is bad	11	8	12
Neither good nor bad	3	4	6
No change in population	9	6	7
Population is decreasing	3	3	5

with respondents from many different communities, there is widespread awareness of population growth but very little concern about it. There are undoubtedly some communities in the target counties experiencing growing pains and perhaps bitter controversy, but, in general, one senses in these results a "booster's club" type of enthusiasm for growth.

Table 6.2 presents more detail on respondents' perceptions of growth. Those respondents who were aware of growth, and perceived it as either good or bad, were asked a follow-up question: In what ways is it good or bad? Since few respondents perceived the growth as bad, their widely scattered responses to the follow-up question are not presented here. The many reasons given for the "growth is good" type of response pattern were coded into the categories shown in Table 6.2, however, and the three samples can be compared on these reasons.

Two general statements can be made about the data in Table 6.2. First, the vast majority of all reasons given for labelling population growth as good have to do with economic matters: money, jobs, investment, and so on. Only one type of response deviates from this pattern—that growth brings in more people with new ideas. Metropolitan origin migrants were somewhat more likely to mention new ideas as an asset (33 percent) than either nonmetropolitan origin migrants (24 percent) or residents (25 percent). This is consistent with the fact that metropolitan migrants are more likely to have moved for nonemployment reasons than nonmetropolitan origin migrants. However, the differences between the three samples on this category of response are not great, and that brings us to the second general statement about the table as a whole. The three samples are quite similar in their stated reasons for perceiving growth as good. There are differences in the proportions giving a fairly abstract reason, such as "more investment," versus a more concrete reason, "more factories, businesses," but these are trivial in view of the dominant tendency to refer to some aspect of the local economy.

Table 6.2. Percentage of respondents, by group, who give various reasons for viewing population increase as good

Respondents who say:[a]	Respondent group		
	Metropolitan origin migrant (N = 282)	Nonmetropolitan origin migrant (N = 126)	Resident (N = 233)
More tax money available	37	41	35
More money spent in area	43	41	36
More investment	7	4	5
More factories, businesses	30	25	35
More jobs available	16	21	19
More people with new ideas	33	24	25

[a]Respondents were permitted to give more than one reason and all responses are reported here. Thus the percentages total more than 100.

What has been demonstrated in general, then, is that the migrants and residents are quite similar in their awareness of population growth. By and large, they perceive it as good and economically beneficial. This finding can be coupled with the data in Chapter 5 which indicated that although many migrants experienced some adjustment difficulties, there was no evidence of solid majorities singling out particular problems or deficiencies in the new residential setting, i.e., they tended to be generally satisfied. The broader point is that neither the data on adjustment problems of the recent past or dissatisfaction with the current residence nor material in this chapter on possible future problems suggest that migrants and residents have sharply different points of view which could become the basis for local conflict (Coleman, 1956).

Growth, Demand for Services, and Taxes

There is a potential for shift in demand for community services when people of different backgrounds, having experienced different lifestyles, converge in a common location and establish homes. Looking back over a generation or more, there is no question but that desired goods and services which were formerly difficult to obtain in remote locations are now more readily obtainable. Modern transportation, communication, and service delivery systems have reduced historic differences between city and countryside. Nevertheless, when formerly declining communities first experience an influx of newcomers who are not like the local people, one would expect some change in demand for an array of services, and local residents may not always agree with the newcomers, especially those from big cities, as to what to do about it.

Shifts in demand for community services imply at least a reallocation of local taxes resources and may well imply an increase in at least some local taxes. To explore that type of question, each respondent was asked to agree or disagree with the proposition that "local taxes should be increased to..." make possible each of the specific improvements listed in Table 6.3. In the actual interviews respondents were asked to "agree strongly," "agree," "disagree," or "disagree strongly," but the gradations of agreement and disagreement were combined for purposes of analysis and only the proportions of each sample showing any degree of tolerance for tax increases are displayed in the table.

The first point worthy of mention with respect to Table 6.3 is that in most cases only a minority of the respondents in any of the samples would favor a tax increase, regardless of the purpose of the increase. A majority of the sample favorable to an increase occurs only for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants and only for two of the six purposes: medical facilities (53 percent) and area roads (55 percent). Most respondents would prefer to get along without tax increases, as one might expect, since tax decreases rather than increases have captured public attention in recent years. Secondly,

Table 6.3. Percentage of respondents, by group, who agree that local taxes should be increased to . . .

Taxes should be increased to . . .	Respondent group[a]		
	Metropolitan origin migrant	Nonmetropolitan origin migrant	Resident
Improve schools	35	46	28
Build parks	35	40	33
Improve medical facilities	49	53	41
Improve police protection	40	49	45
Improve area roads	43	55	44
Provide services for senior citizens	40	48	46

[a]Percentages are based on the total sample of each migrant type, with slight variations in number of cases across questions because of occasional failure to respond to a question.

however, there are at least moderate differences among the samples in potential support for tax increases for several of the listed purposes, and these differences are not always the ones one might have anticipated.

Schools and parks

Given that the sample of nonmetropolitan residents is older, on average, than the migrant samples, and that the nonmetropolitan origin migrants are the youngest of the three samples, it is to be expected that tax increases for both schools and parks would be least favored by the former and most favored by the latter (see Table 6.3). In addition, it was noted in Chapter 4 that the generally younger nonmetropolitan origin migrants were somewhat less likely than the metropolitan origin migrants to regard schools in the new place of residence as better. More detailed cross-classifications (not displayed here) which compare the younger and older respondents of each sample type with each other, confirm the notion that it is the younger migrants who feel a need for schools and parks. Older nonmetropolitan residents are the exception. They are slightly *more* favorable to tax increases for schools and parks than younger rural residents.

Since schools, though not necessarily parks, tend to absorb a substantial fraction of local tax resources, it would seem that consensus on school needs might be difficult to achieve in high growth areas, and precisely among young families with the greatest stake in local schools. That is, if there is potential for conflict over local services in any community, one would expect it to be most likely to occur in those segments of the service system that claim the largest fractions of the local tax dollar. Tax support for schools could well be an issue in some of the communities in the target areas, but it must be noted that the difference in perspectives is greatest between the (generally younger) nonmetropolitan origin migrants and residents, with the metropolitan origin migrants in between.

Other detailed tabulations for comparable income groups (again, not displayed here), show the expected pattern of greater support for schools and parks among respondents with higher incomes, but again residents deviate from the pattern. Higher income residents are somewhat *less* likely to agree to tax increases for schools and parks than those with lower incomes. This again suggests that the "newcomers," and especially those coming in from other nonmetropolitan areas, while feeling a greater need for improved schools and parks, may find it difficult to convince others of the merits of their case. On both schools and parks, migrants from metropolitan areas would seem to come closer to sharing the views of long-term residents on the important issue of financing improvements than is the case for migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas.

Medical facilities

A possible tax increase to improve local medical facilities got somewhat more support than either schools or parks from all types of respondents, residents as well as both types of migrants, though still short of majority support except among nonmetropolitan origin migrants. The differences among the samples are similar to those discussed above, with residents least likely to favor a tax increase, migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas most likely to favor, and the metropolitan origin migrants once more in between (see Table 6.3).

Here again the detailed comparisons by age group, income group, and also educational level, which are not displayed, serve to heighten certain contrasts but do not basically change the pattern shown in Table 6.3. This can be summarized with reference to migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas. By and large the younger, better educated, and wealthier of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants stand out as most favorable to tax increases to improve medical facilities. We had not, as a matter of fact, expected that health needs would be better met in the area of the migrants' destination, but it should be pointed out that we had expected older respondents, generally, to be the most concerned about improving local medical facilities. This is definitely not the case. For all three samples, respondents age 35 or less are clearly more concerned about local medical facilities than older respondents. They are more concerned, that is, in the sense of being willing to consider increased taxes to improve medical facilities. Later, in Chapter 10 on the elderly, it will be seen that older respondents are in fact less satisfied with available medical services than those younger. The pattern of responses in Table 6.3, therefore, probably stems from a hesitancy to increase taxes among the elderly rather than a lack of concern about medical facilities.

Police protection and area roads

Turning back to Table 6.3, it may be noted that migrants from nonmetropolitan areas are again more likely to favor tax increases to improve police protection and to improve local roads. This same pattern prevails throughout the table, though the contrasts are usually not great. The nonmetropolitan origin migrants tend to stand out as most likely to favor tax increases. For these particular comparisons, however, the migrants from the metropolitan areas are slightly more conservative than the residents with respect to police protection and area roads. The general pattern of differences, which are modest in any case, is not notably altered by comparing similar age, income, and educational categories, thus these will not be discussed here.

Services for senior citizens

Finally with respect to an increase in local taxes to improve services for senior citizens, the three samples are fairly similar, with 40 to 48 percent of each type of respondent favorable to an increase (Table 6.3). In this case a different pattern of responses had been expected, however, for the simple reason that there are marked differences in proportions of older persons in the three samples.

The nonmetropolitan origin migrants, who tend to be younger, had not been expected to lead in favoring improved services for senior citizens because they have little to gain in that sphere. Schools, parks, and medical facilities for families with young children are quite another matter. But services for senior citizens should be of less immediate interest to the younger nonmetropolitan origin migrants, of much greater interest to the relatively older residents, and migrants from metropolitan areas. In the latter group, fully 32 percent of the males and 18 percent of the females are retired (see Chapter 2).

The tendency for younger persons to show more concern about services for the elderly is underscored, though hardly explained, by age-specific comparisons among the samples. For younger respondents, aged 35 and under, 48 percent of the metropolitan origin migrants, 59 percent of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, and 57 percent of the residents favor a tax increase for improved services for the elderly. In contrast, for respondents aged 55 and over, only 32 percent of the metropolitan migrants, 39 percent of the nonmetropolitan migrants, and 37 percent of the residents favor such an increase. Younger respondents, both migrant and resident, lean toward improved services for the elderly, while older respondents from all three samples are dominantly against tax increases for improving those services. Such a contrast was not expected and it can only be suggested, as it was in the discussion of medical facilities, that older respondents may be more concerned about increased taxes, as such, than younger respondents. And finally, whether younger or older, it is the nonmetropolitan origin migrants who are most

likely to favor tax increases to improve services for the elderly, as was the case for all the service areas listed in Table 6.3.

Attitudes Toward Controlling Growth and Development

Tax increases may not be truly inevitable as a consequence of population growth but are certainly a likely focal point for discussion of the impact of substantial inmigration. This is especially true for sparsely populated rural areas, which are almost by definition unlikely to have the kind of service infrastructure which can easily accommodate sharply increasing demand for those services. Planning for growth is commonly recommended in such situations. This issue was touched on as our second focal point in assessing the impact of inmigrants on these growing rural areas. Specifically, each person interviewed was asked to respond "yes" or "no" to the question: "Do you think the elected officials of your community should try to..." do each of the things listed in Table 6.4. The issue of planning for growth versus nonplanning is only implicit here for these are broad "development" alternatives. The question is explicit, however, in singling out local officials as initiators of change in one direction or another.

More factories

In view of the general consensus among the respondents that population "growth is good," described earlier in this chapter, it is to be expected that initiatives to promote growth and development will be favorably perceived. This is clearly the case for all of the comparisons shown in Table 6.4. The first alternative, "keeping factories out," is posed negatively while the others are in positive form, but in all cases for all three samples the dominant response is clearly pro-growth, pro-development. Since relatively few of the respondents in any of the three samples took a negative stance on development

Table 6.4. Percentage of respondents, by group, who state that elected officials of their community should try to . . .

Elected officials should try to:	Respondent group*		
	Metropolitan origin migrant	Nonmetropolitan origin migrant	Resident
Keep new factories out of area	21	16	11
Attract tourists and promote recreation	85	91	83
Develop the business district of the community	85	88	85
Attract new residents to the area	73	76	74

*Percentages are based on the total sample of each migrant type, with slight variations in number of cases across questions because of occasional failure to respond to a question.

115

alternatives, the detailed comparisons by age group are not discussed in this section.

With specific reference to factories, presumably as a means for providing more jobs and further growth, there is a moderate tendency for metropolitan origin migrants (21 percent "no") to differ from nonmetropolitan origin migrants (16 percent "no"), and residents (only 11 percent "no"). This may reflect some desire among metropolitan origin migrants to preserve the rural character of the environment which they have chosen, but the data presented in Table 6.4, in general, can hardly be interpreted to reflect a conservationist stance. On the contrary, development by whatever means is not an issue. If inmigrants are having an impact on these areas, it is not on the question of development or economic growth, as such, but possibly on some of the more subtle ramifications of growth which have not been captured here. A later discussion of amenity versus employment movers (in Chapter 8) will return to this theme.

Tourism and recreation

Table 6.3 shows very high proportions of the respondents in each sample in favor of tourism and recreation as a means of economic growth. The proportions favoring tourism and recreation are slightly higher than those for attracting factories as a means of growth, but the striking thing, again, is that relatively large proportions in each respondent group favor any and every means of promoting economic growth. Vacation experience in the area in past years (see Chapter 9) and the prominence of a quest for amenities in making the move would lead one to expect a pro-tourism recreation stance among metropolitan origin movers, but nonmetropolitan origin movers are even more solidly in favor of tourism and recreation development than those from metropolitan areas. It is of course possible that the employment reasons for moving among nonmetropolitan origin respondents are a reflection of earlier population and job growth stemming from the influx of metropolitan origin migrants, i.e., that amenity seeking migrants create job opportunities and thus further population growth in the target areas. We lack the data to pursue such a possibility but it could help to account for the strong pro-development stance of the nonmetropolitan origin migrant sample.

Development of the business district

Having already stressed the dominance of a favorable view to growth by any means, little more can be said about the third alternative, development of the community business district. We tried to elicit opinions about several broad growth strategies. The first three (factory employment, tourism, and retail trade) are more or less parallel. All three clearly tended to elicit "yes" responses from all respondent groups. With specific reference to development of the business district, one might speculate that concerns about the

availability of and distance traveled for some services, discussed in Chapter 5, would contribute to support for business growth for migrants and residents alike, but in fact support for business growth does not stand out from support for the other alternatives. More broadly, all of the development strategies under discussion in this section of the report leave open the question of whether public or private resources would be used for development. The questions on tax increases for particular kinds of service enhancement (described in the preceding section) did not elicit favorable majorities, except among nonmetropolitan origin migrants, as was pointed out earlier. When tax increases are not an issue, the generally pro-development stance of the respondents comes out most strongly.

Attracting new residents

Finally, the somewhat less direct development strategy, to attract new residents, also got "yes" responses from most respondents, but proportions favorable are only about 75 percent as against 80-90 percent for the others (see Table 6.4). The three respondent groups are again very similar in their response tendencies, and slightly lower percentages of "yes" responses to sheer increase in people may well stem from the less direct (or more abstract) nature of this growth strategy. It leaves open questions about what kinds of people might come in, where they would find jobs, and so on, and for such reasons may have attracted slightly fewer favorable responses. Nevertheless, the strong majorities in favor of attracting new residents can only be interpreted as part of a substantial consensus favoring economic growth and development among the respondents.

Summary and Discussion

What can be said about the impact of migrants, whether of metropolitan or nonmetropolitan origin, on these rapidly growing nonmetropolitan areas of the region? The respondents are clearly aware of the population growth taking place and they view it as a good thing, with only minor differences among the groups of respondents. Judging by the responses to the questions about official action to develop their communities, the respondents show a strong consensus in favor of further growth and development, and there is little evidence that they disagree about the general means of promoting development. This is not to say that a specific development proposal in a given community would not stimulate some debate or even controversy. It does suggest a generally favorable view toward the growth that has taken place plus a pro-development stance with reference to the future. And it further suggests that any more problematic impacts of growth might only show up in second or third order ramifications of the population increase itself. Or, alternatively, if what is now called the "new" migration continues, it may be that continued increase in numbers will be viewed with a more jaundiced eye at some future point. At present, however, there

seems to be a consensus that growth is good in the rapidly growing rural counties of the North Central Region. Case studies which highlight growth problems and controversy might benefit from being viewed against this broader perspective.

Some differences were found among the samples of respondents on the questions regarding tax increases for the improvement of various services, one of the possible ramifications of the inmigration of newcomers which areas often face. Possible tax increases were by no means viewed with favor by most respondents, but the most striking difference found was that nonmetropolitan origin migrants generally tended to be more favorable toward improving any of the services listed than either metropolitan origin migrants or residents. A migrant impact then, in decisions on local service infrastructures, might occur in the form of nonmetropolitan origin migrants demanding more and better services with both metropolitan origin migrants and residents showing more resistance to change. The conventional wisdom about rural-urban differences would suggest that metropolitan origin migrants might be least satisfied with things as they are, but that is not reflected in data analyzed here. It has been noted that metropolitan and nonmetropolitan origin migrants tend to differ in age and in some other respects and that they have moved to these high-growth areas for somewhat different reasons (Chapter 3). It may be these distinguishing characteristics of nonmetropolitan origin migrants which set them apart from the other groups which will have to be better understood to assess impacts in particular spheres. However, efforts in this chapter to compare metropolitan origin migrants, nonmetropolitan origin migrants, and residents at the same age, education, and income levels did *not* alter the basic pattern: the nonmetropolitan origin migrants were more favorable to tax increases for improvement of local services than either metropolitan origin migrants or residents at the same level of age, income, or education.

The fact that the data show migrants from metropolitan areas to differ little from long-term residents in their perspectives on growth and development while migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas are more likely to have different expectations was not anticipated and thus deserves to be underscored, even if present data do not permit a full exploration of the reasons for the contrast. One could speculate and argue that rural areas have changed over the years, have become relatively more attractive than the cities (Beale, 1978), which are perceived as beset by problems, and thus former urbanites should not be expected to find their needs unmet when they migrate in a rural direction. Similarly, it is possible that one should not expect former urbanites to be advocates of change and at odds with residents because they tended to select their new residences for what they perceived to be the positive qualities of rural life, not just for jobs. In short, metropolitan origin migrants may have anticipated what rural life would be like and may have based their migration decisions on a broader set of criteria than nonmetropolitan

origin migrants. The latter are more likely to have moved for job reasons with the possibility that other characteristics of the destination area were less likely to weigh heavily in the migration decision.

On the other hand, the contrast between a generally pro-development stance and unwillingness to accept tax increases to pay for changes is particularly strong for the metropolitan origin migrants. It is possible that the perceived amenities of rural living include lower taxes and other living costs. It was noted in Chapter 4 that metropolitan origin migrants were considerably more likely than nonmetropolitan origin migrants to say that both taxes and general living costs were lower in the new residence than the old. Assuming that metropolitan origin migrants wish to preserve that advantage, the issue becomes one of consensus on growth and development but lack of consensus on who will pay for it. Nonmetropolitan origin migrants are apparently more willing to accept higher taxes and public investment as the means to development and may be more likely to function as advocates of change in a local situation than former urbanites. The foregoing are merely speculations, however, and we must repeat that the regional data provide little evidence to suggest that the new migration is having a disruptive impact in most localities.

Chapter 7

MOBILITY EXPECTATIONS OF RECENT MIGRANTS

Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams

One of the more important consequence questions, from both research and policy perspectives, concerns the residential stability of metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants. Will they stay and become permanent residents, contributing their resources to the destination areas, or are their stays likely to be of short duration? Although it is difficult to assess whether recent migrants will migrate from the areas in which they are currently residing, it is possible to make some judgment of this potential from a variety of subjective measures which gauge migrants' satisfaction with and attachment to an area. It also is possible to make inferences about mobility potential from the composition of the inmigrant stream.

There is a certain amount of risk involved in trying to directly assess future outmigration from subjective measures such as mobility intentions and expectations or residential satisfaction. It is widely debated whether predictions based on intentions or expectations at one point in time are a good indicator of actual mobility. Some argue that the desire to move, which represents both the pushes and pulls operating on individuals, is a good predictor of actual movement (Blackwood and Carpenter, 1978:35; Goldstein, 1976:430), while others (DeJong and Sell, 1977:137-8) argue that there is a "striking incongruity" between subjective measures and actual moves.

Certainly not all intentions become translated into moves, nor can one anticipate future push and pull factors. The difficulty which arises when using such measures to estimate potential outmigration is that many of the factors influencing migration are subject to modification over time, and the potential migrants themselves change over time in an area. As a result, the predictions based on subjective measures could be either a high or low estimate of how many actually will outmigrate. But, given these types of limitations one can use measures of intentions and expectations to pinpoint the types of households and individuals which seem to be most likely to move and to get some estimate of how many migrants perceive themselves to be loosely attached to their new residences.

Influences on Residential Attachment

Many factors are important in determining the potential for future outmigration. **Community satisfaction** is one which is

particularly salient (Speare, 1974; Bach and Smith, 1977), because it has been shown that the links between community satisfaction and the desire to move and actual migration are quite strong. One would expect then that if community satisfaction reflects the strength of bonds to a place, those who are most dissatisfied with their current place of residence would be more receptive to opportunities elsewhere and thus be more likely to want to leave. Community satisfaction itself, however, is the end result of a host of influences, structural as well as social-psychological, reflecting perceptions of adequacy of a variety of community attributes, perceived changes occuring in an area, and social and community ties (Fried and Gleicher, 1961).

It also is known that migration propensities vary regulary with several status and life-cycle factors. For instance, it has frequently been observed that the young, the better-educated, and the more skilled tend to be the most migratory. The extent to which relationships between age and education and preferences for living elsewhere and expectations to migrate are observed in the sample groups is suggestive of possible future compositional changes in the study areas. This chapter examines how mobility intentions and preferred residence relate to community satisfaction and various migrant characteristics. Our particular interest is looking at how potential migrants compare with those not expecting or preferring to move in terms of age, education, and income, since losses of human capital and allied resources are a major concern for our study areas and for rural areas in general. It was seen earlier in this research (Chapter 1) that, in comparison with the residents of these counties, inmigrants represent an added economic and manpower resource. The question now is whether the higher status inmigrants, who represent a new resource and the greatest potential for future ecomomic growth in rural growth counties, are also the most likely to leave.

Potential for Outmigration

Two major indicators of potential for outmigration are being used in the analysis. The first addresses migrants' **preferred residence,** that is, their preference for living in their current community versus some other place. The assumption underlying this measure is that those who prefer to live elsewhere would be most likely to take advantage of an opportunity to move or, given a sufficiently strong desire to leave, may actually seek out opportunities elsewhere. The second subjective indicator, **mobility expectation,** is based upon a question asking respondents to assess the likelihood that they *will* move within the next *three years*. There is no anticipation that the relationship between preferred residence and mobility expectation is perfect because some respondents may prefer another place but see no opportunity to leave. Others may want to stay but know they will have to leave because of an impending job transfer or other factors.

There is no way of determining how many of the sampled migrants will actually move, but if variables known to be related to actual migration (satisfaction, age, education, and income) also are related to mobility expectations, we can suggest the types of people who seem most likely to move. Since preferences and expectations are at least to some degree separate indicators measuring slightly different concepts, each will be investigated separately. To provide some basis for assessing the relative frequencies of migrants' responses on questions of preferred residence and expectation to move, they will be compared with responses that the area residents give to identical questions. This comparison will provide some estimate of how residentially stable or mobile recent inmigrants are — whether they are more or less predisposed to move than the long-term residents, for example.

Mobility potential among recent migrants

The first assessment of potential for outmigration is based upon a question asking migrants whether they would "prefer to live in this community" or whether they would "prefer to live somewhere else." On the basis of responses to this question it would have to be concluded that there is relatively little desire to move among the three respondent groups. The nonmetropolitan origin migrants are the most inclined to prefer living elsewhere (24 percent), and the long-term area residents are least likely (7 percent). The metropolitan origin migrant respondents are the intermediate group, with 15 percent preferring to live in another community (data not shown). The data, which demonstrate that at least three-fourths of the migrants prefer living where they are currently, is consistent with earlier findings on their relatively high levels of satisfaction and their overall lack of adjustment difficulties. Comparatively, the resident group is the most stable of the three, which is not surprising since many are life-long residents of the area, somewhat older than the migrants, and less educated. It should be emphasized that for all groups a very large majority would prefer to remain in their current communities, a fact which bodes well for these nonmetropolitan areas.

The second measure used in considering the potential outmigration of recent migrants is "mobility expectations," which is based on a question which asked respondents if within the next *three years* they thought they would "definitely," "probably not" or "definitely not" move. Group comparisons are presented in Table 7.1. The great majority of each group indicate they expect to remain in the area for at least the next three years; 31 percent of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants report they will "definitely" or "probably" move within that time, compared with 22 percent of the metropolitan origin migrants and only 10 percent of the residents. In terms of potential for migration, the three groups are ranked as they were on the community preference measure. Although a majority of both migrants and residents express a low expectation of

moving in the near future, the migrants are clearly more mobile in their orientation than are the residents. But, in terms of future population change in these nonmetropolitan areas, the data suggest that if expectations to move materialize, the losses which will occur will disproportionately come from the nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

Other data, which have not been presented, also show that if losses do occur, that is, if expectations to move result in actual moves, they will amount to more than local intra-county shifts. About 72 percent of all migrants expressing a likelihood ("probably" or "definitely") of moving report that they will leave the county.

Table 7.1. Mobility expectations by respondent group

"Within three years will . . ."	Respondent group		
	Metropolitan origin migrants	Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	Residents
		— Percentage —	
Definitely move	10	14	2
Probably move	12	17	7
Probably not move	33	37	35
Definitely not move	45	32	56
Base N	477	194	399

Community satisfaction among potential migrants

The data in Table 7.2 which examine the relationship between community satisfaction and the two mobility-potential measures, show that those who are least satisfied with their current community have the highest preference for living elsewhere and the highest expectation that they will move. A strong relationship is evident for all respondent groups and for migrants especially. Eighty-eight percent of each migrant group reporting they were not satisfied with their current community prefer to live elsewhere, while more than 90 percent of those who were "very satisfied" prefer living where they are. For the residents the relationship between community satisfaction and preferred residence is not quite as strong, as evidenced by the fact that only slightly more than half (51 percent) of those who were not satisfied preferred to live elsewhere.

These latter data on the residents suggest that the strong relationship presumed to exist between residential satisfaction and the wish to move should be tempered (Speare, 1974). Length of residence in a place, as well as other life cycle factors, probably plays a more important role than commonly assumed. Furthermore, the data on the residents fit nicely with Quigley and Weinberg's (1977)

Table 7.2. Percentage who prefer to live in another community or who expect to move, by community satisfaction (by respondent group)

Respondent group and satisfaction level	Percent who prefer other community	(Base N)	Percent who expect to move	(Base N)
Metropolitan origin migrants				
Very satisfied	5	(366)	11	(360)
Somewhat satisfied	37	(92)	43	(91)
Not satisfied	88	(24)	96	(24)
Nonmetropolitan origin migrants				
Very satisfied	7	(131)	16	(128)
Somewhat satisfied	47	(53)	54	(52)
Not satisfied	88	(17)	79	(14)
Residents				
Very satisfied	3	(346)	9	(330)
Somewhat satisfied	23	(60)	8	(59)
Not satisfied	51	(11)	40	(10)

suggestion that many households adjust to dissatisfaction without any corresponding desire or expectation for moving. Perhaps the residents would prefer to deal with their dissatisfaction by altering their environments, expectations, or both rather than leave.

The findings on the expectation to move question prove to be quite similar to those for preferred residence, as one might expect. In fact, about 70 percent of those migrants who prefer living in another community also expect to move, thus confirming that there is a sizeable overlap between the two measures.

Since the overall levels of community satisfaction among migrants are quite high, one would expect that if satisfaction were a major prerequisite for remaining in a residence, a large majority of the recent migrants would remain in their present places. In other words, little outmigration would be generated as a result of migrant dissatisfaction with their communities. However, since the preference for living elsewhere and the expectation for moving are so strongly related to community satisfaction, it would seem that the pool of potential outmigrants could increase dramatically if levels of dissatisfaction increase in the future. It also is likely that in some subareas or communities of the region, community dissatisfaction may be much higher than witnessed overall for the three samples, in which case one would expect the potential for outmigration to be higher. The point is that people who are dissatisfied with their community of residence are the most prone to prefer another community and to expect a move. There will be no attempt here to address the next obvious question: What factor or factors generate community satisfaction or dissatisfaction? That is one of the major issues in community satisfaction research, however, and one which has not yet been satisfactorily addressed (c.f. Marans and Rodgers, 1975; Goudy, 1977; Brown and Gustavus, 1977).

How Do Potential Movers and Stayers Differ?

It has been demonstrated regularly in general migration research that migration is selective, and it is thus reasonable to expect that age, education, and income should also be related to preferences for leaving the community. Relationships between these three variables and preferences are suggestive of the kinds of people (human resources) that will most likely be lost in future outflows, should they occur. The relevant data for this assessment are presented in Table 7.3, which compares those preferring another community with those preferring their current community on the variables of age, education, and income. With respect to age, those metropolitan origin migrants who prefer another community are mainly under 35 (43 percent). Those who prefer to remain in the present community are, by comparison, older. We find the same relationship to be true for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants as well, although it is much stronger. Those preferring to remain in

Table 7.3. Comparison of respondents who prefer living in another community with those preferring current community, on age, education, and income (by respondent group)

Respondent characteristics	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		Residents	
	Prefer other community	Prefer current community	Prefer other community	Prefer current community	Prefer other community	Prefer current community
	— Percentage —					
Age						
Under 35	43	32	59	40	15	14
36 to 54	32	29	29	30	47	37
55 and over	25	39	12	30	38	49
Base N	72	406	49	151	28	387
Education of respondent						
Less than high school	14	26	8	20	34	40
High school	38	42	39	45	48	44
More than high school	48	32	53	35	18	16
Base N	72	408	49	152	28	387
Income						
$10,000 or less	46	49	38	47	38	55
Over $10,000	54	51	62	53	62	45
Base N	68	370	45	148	26	349

their current community also differ in terms of education. The potentially mobile migrants tend to be in the higher education categories, again in contrast to those who prefer not to move from their present community. Among the metropolitan origin migrants there are, at most, minor income differences between the potential movers and those preferring their current place of residence, with the potential movers having slightly higher incomes. These findings restate well-known propositions about the effects of age, and education, especially, and income on propensity to migrate.

We conclude from our examination of these relationships that future outflows among the post-1970 migrants, to the extent that preferences for living elsewhere are realized, are relatively more likely to draw off the young, better-educated and perhaps those with higher incomes. However, since many recent migrants, including many young, educated, and high income individuals, expect to remain one would have to conclude that many of the migrants who represent assets to nonmetropolitan areas prefer to remain where they are.

In Table 7.4 data are presented which compare those expecting to move within the next three years (potential movers) with those expecting to stay in their current residence (potential stayers). The findings are quite similar to those on the previous mobility measure (mobility preference). The potential movers tend to be younger and more educated than the potential stayers but there is no income difference. It should be pointed out, however, that the relationships are much more pronounced for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, which would suggest that if all potential movers among the nonmetropolitan origin migrants actually move, more of them are likely to be younger, better educated, and higher income individuals than if the potential movers among the metropolitan origin migrants moved. This seems to tie in with other data in the text which show that the nonmetropolitan origin migrants are motivated more by employment considerations than are the metropolitan origin migrants, and apparently for many of them their current residences do not have the attraction that the metropolitan origin migrants' residences have for them.

In other analyses (not shown) it was found that the highest mobility expectations for both migrant groups are among those who moved for and selected destinations on the basis of employment considerations. Thirty-eight percent of the metropolitan origin migrants who moved for employment reasons expect to move within the next three years. The metropolitan origin migrants who least expect to move were those who moved for "enviromental push" reasons (15 percent) and those who gave "retirement" (7 percent) as the reason. An identical pattern exists with respect to motivations for choosing the destination; almost 40 percent of those who chose their current destinations on the basis of employment factors expected to move within the next three years. The general

Table 7.4. Comparison of potential movers with potential stayers on age, education, and income (by respondent group)

Respondent characteristics	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants		Residents	
	Potential movers	stayers	Potential movers	stayers	Potential movers	stayers
	— Percentage —					
Age						
Under 35	64	27	70	32	28	13
36 to 54	22	32	18	36	24	41
55 and over	14	41	12	32	48	46
Base N	102	370	60	133	38	360
Education of respondent						
Less than high school	13	27	7	19	28	39
High school	44	41	44	41	50	45
More than high school	43	32	49	40	22	16
Base N	103	372	59	134	38	361
Income						
$10,000 or less	48	48	40	46	45	53
Over $10,000	52	52	60	54	55	47
Base N	98	337	59	129	35	327

implication of these findings is that many of the migrants into these fast growing nonmetropolitan counties who were attracted by the promise of new or better employment are continuing their assessment of employment opportunities, are still looking for new or better jobs or expect another transfer. For some it may be a reassessment of the types of jobs they obtained in their current residence. As McCarthy and Morrison (1978) have suggested, employment opportunities may have expanded faster than earnings in some growing areas. Higher paying jobs may thus be one of the future considerations of employment-motivated migrants. Clearly, some of these migrants appear to be receptive to living and working elsewhere. By the same token, those who moved to get away from urban areas appear to be fairly stable in their new residences. In fact, they are only slightly more mobile in their expectations than long-time area residents.

Without a more elaborate analysis, we can only speculate about the relative importance of community satisfaction, age, education, and income as determinants of outmigration. For present purposes a multivariate approach is not necessary in spelling out the likelihood of future migration in these areas. The findings so far have pointed out the clear possibility that just as migration has been shown to be selective, the same selectivities are operating in the samples of migrants, and those representing the greatest assets to these rural areas are the most likely to outmigrate.

Where Would Potential Migrants Go?

The final data to be considered in this section are the size-of-place preferences of those respondents in the three groups who will "definitely" or "probably" move in the next three years. Preferences are based on the question: "If you did move, would you prefer to live in...?" The possible response categories are given in Table 7.5. The most striking features of the data are that the potential metropolitan origin migrants, more than the other groups, would prefer to live in a large town or big city (36 percent versus 19 per-

Table 7.5. Residential preferences of potential migrants

Desired residence	Respondent group		
	Metropolitan origin migrants	Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	Residents
	— Percentage —		
Big city (50,000+)	15	7	11
Large town (10,000-50,000)	21	12	5
Small town, village (<10,000)	12	13	40
Countryside, nonfarm	38	46	30
Farm	14	22	14
Base N	102	59	37

cent for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants and 16 percent for the residents), and that for the majority of all three groups their preferred residences (if they moved) would probably be similar to those in which they are currently residing. There is a decidedly rural orientation. Some of these respondents may wish to live closer to metopolitan centers or in slightly larger places, but there is no way of determining that with the present data set. In light of the present data one would have to conclude that, over all, there is very little evidence of disenchantment with nonmetropolitan living among the metropolitan origin migrants, or the other migrants for that matter, and certainly not among residents.

Duration of Residence and Mobility Potential

Up to this point the important and complicating role of length of residence as a determinant of future outmigration has been ignored. There is substantial documentation to suggest that the probability of migrating is inversely related to the length of stay in a particular residence (Land, 1969). The basis for this generalization is multifaceted, however, and it is not known, for instance, whether the development of ties in an area over time creates an "inertia" which inveighs against further mobility, whether adjustments and adaptations made over time mitigate the desire to move, or whether inertia is attributable to other factors. An adequate test of these alternative hypotheses is clearly beyond the present research design, which will be confined to a descriptive presentation and exploration of the relationships among length of residence, mobility expectations, residential preferences, and community satisfaction.

It was noted earlier (Chapter 2) that the nonmetropolitan origin migrants in the sample have, on the average, moved into the target counties more recently than the metropolitan origin migrants, reflecting past patterns of rates of both in and outmigration. Those coming from nonmetropolitan areas may be more mobile than those from metropolitan areas, and thus, in the aggregate, be relatively short-term residents of the area and have higher rates of outmigration. The difference in average duration of residence between the migrant groups, however, may also be due to differences in relative rates of inmigration and the acceleration or deceleration of the trends during the 1970-1977 period. It may well be the case that inmigration from nonmetropolitan areas is gaining momentum in recent years while migration from metropolitan areas is leveling off. Without knowing how many have inmigrated and then outmigrated between 1970 and 1977 there is no way to assess the relative merits of these explanations of the differences in distributions for duration of residence among the two migrant subsamples. It is clear, however, that the differences between the two groups have to be taken into consideration in any comparisons on mobility expectations or community satisfaction. Migration expectation and community satisfaction distributions, like duration of residence, could thus be expected to contain the imprint or results of outmigration

before the time of the interviewing. For example, if those who were most dissatisfied upon inmigrating, and who expected to move, did indeed move out of the area shortly after moving in, they would not have fallen into the samples. As a result there would be, by this selection process alone, a lower probability of finding potentially mobile or dissatisfied individuals among the early migrants.

Because of the confounding nature of these problems, we are able to hypothesize effects of duration of residence but recognize that it may be underestimating the actual effect of time spent in a residence on mobility expectations and residential satisfaction. For purposes of the following analysis, duration of residence has been dichotomized at the midpoint of the 1970-1977 period. Those moving in between 1970 and 1973 are referred to in Table 7.6 as "early" migrants and those inmigrating after 1973 as "recent" migrants.

From the data presented in Table 7.6, it is apparent that among the metropolitan origin migrants, length of residence does seem to relate to their expectations for future mobility; 18 percent of the early metropolitan origin migrants but 25 percent of the recent migrants expect to move in the near future. A similar but more dramatic pattern emerges among the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, with the recent migrants twice as likely to move as the early migrants. It is not surprising that those who lived in the area the shortest time seem most likely to move. They may not have yet had an opportunity to move and there may have been insufficient time for the various socializing influences suggested above to have occurred. It is clear that, among the migrants, those from nonmetopolitan origin areas are most likely to expect to move. However, there is little difference in expected mobility between the early metropolitan origin and early nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

There also is evidence on the second measure of potential mobility, preferred residence, that the recent migrants in both samples

Table 7.6. Mobility expectation, residential preference and community dissatisfaction, by migrant type and duration of residence

	Metropolitan origin migrants		Nonmetropolitan origin migrants	
	Early migrants	Recent migrants	Early migrants	Recent migrants
	— Percentage —			
Expected mobility:				
Some expectation of moving	18	25	19	38
No expectation of moving	82	75	81	62
Preferred residence:				
Present community	86	83	79	73
Elsewhere	14	17	21	27
Dissatisfied with community	5	5	11	7

are more disposed to living elsewhere than the early migrants. Thus, the direction of the relationship is the same as was observed for mobility expection.

Finally, the findings regarding the relationship between duration of residence and community satisfaction are not consistent with the other findings in Table 7.6. It was noted earlier that community dissatisfaction and mobility expectations were highly related, and it was also seen (Table 7.6) that duration of residence and mobility expectation were related, though not strongly. However, in the final row of Table 7.6, it can be seen that there is no relationship between duration of residence and satisfaction for metropolitan origin migrants and only a slight relationship for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

It was expected that dissatisfaction would be higher among "recent" migrants for the simple reason that the recent migrants are newer, still making adjustments, may not yet have found optimal housing or friends, or they may not have yet had the opportunity to leave. Instead, a weak relationship between length of residence and dissatisfaction was uncovered. Essentially, equal portions (5 percent) of early and recent metropolitan origin migrants are dissatisfied. The difference between early and recent nonmetropolitan origin migrants is not great (7 percent vs. 11 percent, respectively), but still the relationship is the reverse of what was expected.

Summary and Discussion

It was known from the earlier analysis of reasons for migration that the great majority of migrants made voluntary moves and were motivated predominantly by nonemployment considerations. Even for those moving for job-related reasons, the detailed data suggested a high level of freedom of choice in the migration decision-making process. Although some degree of rationalization may be involved, the preference data discussed in this chapter demonstrate that most are in a type of residential environment they prefer. Indeed, all of the data on intentions and expectations suggest that the inmigrants have achieved their goals—those from metropolitan areas probably more so than those from other nonmetropolitan areas. Most of the migrants, and especially the metropolitan origin migrants, moved voluntarily, are satisfied with their current places of residence, prefer to stay, and do not expect to leave. Even those who are potentially mobile prefer to live in locations very much like where they are actually living currently. In general, all signs point to high levels of retention of recent immigrants in high growth areas of the Midwest.

The overall findings, while they are encouraging as far as the retention of migrants in nonmetropolitan areas is concerned, belie the uncertainty a small portion of the migrants have about their present communities and about remaining in their present locations. Approximately a fifth of the metropolitan origin migrants

and close to a third of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants prefer to live elsewhere or have a high expectation of moving in the near future. Whether these are large or small proportions is a question which is best left to readers to determine. Since several objective measures which have been found to be associated with higher mobility are related to the subjective mobility measures that have been used, there is some basis for arguing that the figures presented might be reasonable estimates of potential outmigration.

There is, of course, no way to specify how many of the potential migrants will actually move or how many additional migrants will locate in these high-growth areas over the next several years. Inmigrants may well offset any losses which materialize from the present set of respondents in which case the impact of any losses would be minimal.

The data have helped to identify the most mobile types of individuals, and not surprisingly they tend to be the younger, better educated, higher-income individuals whose mobility potential is probably comparable to that of similar individuals elsewhere. It is also known from other data in the survey that the potentially mobile migrants also were more likely to have moved for employment reasons, had experienced more adjustment difficulties initially, and were less likely to have had pre-move ties in the area. Employment was a major concern and still is for many of those with mobility potential. On the basis of the data, nonmetropolitan areas have been able to "capture" the metropolitan origin migrants moving for retirement, rural amenity, and urban push reasons, and to a lesser extent those moving for employment reasons. Further, the significant minority of nonmetropolitan origin migrants who prefer to live elsewhere or expect to leave would suggest that the nonmetropolitan areas have done better at "capturing" the metropolitan origin migrants than the nonmetropolitan origin migrants.

Finally, there is optimism in the data for nonmetropolitan areas. Most recent metropolitan origin migrants will probably remain, if one were to go by their preferences and expectations, and most of those who do move are not likely to flee rural areas for urban areas. Overwhelmingly, those expecting to move and prefering to live elsewhere, prefer living in places much like those in which they are currently residing. Thus, while some particular places may experience the problems associated without migration, nonmetropolitan areas as a whole would appear to suffer little if at all. It thus seems that for the next few years nonmetropolitan areas may primarily experience only some internal redistribution of population.

136

Part III

A Closer Look at the Major Components of the New Migration

INTRODUCTION

Evidence of a population turnaround first appeared almost a decade ago, and since that time a wide variety of questions has emerged in response to what was thought to be occurring. Initially, there was the question of the motivations underlying the trend. The data presented in Part I have shown nonemployment concerns to be paramount, especially for those coming from metropolitan areas.

Once the new migration trend was firmly established, attention turned to questions regarding the composition of the migrant stream and the impact the "rural renaissance" was having or would have on rural areas. More specifically, the focus turned to who was moving and how migrants would alter destination areas. The second part of this research has provided some insights into several aspects of the potential impacts associated with the trend in the North Central Region.

Part III focuses more directly on some of the specific components of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream which lie at the core of discussions on the new migration. Chapter 8 utilizes the reasons metropolitan origin migrants gave for moving to delineate two types of migrants — those moving for employment reasons and those moving for environmental or amenity reasons. The analysis compares these two types of migrants on several of the issues addressed in earlier chapters. The general feeling is that since amenity and employment motivated migrants make up a large portion of the stream and reflect fundamentally different concerns, a separate comparison is warranted. Any of a number of illustrations could be presented to suggest that migrants motivated by different concerns are themselves different in terms of their characteristics, the places they are leaving and in which they are relocating, what they are willing to forego, their attachment to their new residences, and the perspectives which they bring to the areas they choose. Chapter 8 describes these differences and makes some suggestions regarding the consequences of these diverse types of migrants for the areas attracting primarily one or the other type.

Chapter 9 focuses on the elderly metropolitan origin migrants, another of the components of the stream which has received widespread attention. Research in various parts of the region has reported that the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrant stream consists of a heavy elderly flow — moving for retirement or pre-retirement reasons and returning home to areas which they left years ago, perhaps even to areas in which other family members are currently residing. One of the implicit concerns associated with this portion of the stream is that a large influx of older persons will contribute to a further aging of the population in rural areas, and eventually it will result in the need for new and expanded services by a segment of the population least able to economically support such services. Chapter 9 concentrates on two specific issues regard-

Page 136 Blank

ing the older migrants: how they compare with the older residents in the region and the motivations which underlie their moves and choices of destination areas. On this latter issue the analyses will address questions related to how older migrants have benefitted from the move.

Finally, Chapter 10 turns specifically to issues associated with the return aspect of the new migration. Earlier discussions have documented the portions of the samples who are returning to areas where migrants were born or had once lived. Chapter 10 goes beyond this documentation, however, to explore the differences between "newcomers" and return migrants and investigates the ways in which return migration contributes to some of the unusual aspects of the flow of inmigrants from metropolitan areas. One of the underlying themes which is explored is whether the return migration component of the trend is selective of certain types of individuals and households, for instance those who might be defined as "urban failures." And, finally, return migrants are compared with newcomers on several of the impact issues which have been discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 8

JOB SEEKERS AND AMENITY MIGRANTS FROM METROPOLITAN AREAS: DIFFERENCES AND IMPACT POTENTIAL

Andrew J. Sofranko

The earlier analysis of reasons for leaving the metropolitan residence showed that the two main types of motivation were environmental amenities and employment, which together account for more than half of all the moves. These findings are consistent with other research on the new migration and with public perceptions that the phenomenon is rooted in employment expansion in nonmetropolitan areas, the diminished attractiveness of urban life, and the increased attractiveness of rural living (Beale, 1975).

Much of the current speculation over the continuation and impact of the new migration has focused at one time or another on each of these modal types of movers. They are presumed to be different in terms of their origins, household composition, and socioeconomic characteristics, as well as on the trade-offs they make, their attachment to the destination areas, and their potential impact. Migrants who are motivated for different reasons are unique in some respects, but the main issue here is how they are different and what the implications of those differences might be. If migrants moving for employment and amenity reasons are distinctive, communities or areas demonstrating a propensity to attract one or the other of these types of movers may be affected differently. Also, if migrants with different motivations are distinctive in other respects the overall consequences of the new stream for rural areas may shift in relation to the predominance of one or the other motivation in migrants' decision-making processes. The following comparisons will provide some insight into the differences between these two migrant types.

The intent of this chapter is to establish whether the underlying motivation for moving is an important selection criterion which differentiates migrants on a variety of measures. The position taken is that it is an important indicator which summarizes a variety of causal influences on migration. Motivations thus may be viewed as a single summary measure of the cultural, economic, and social factors which have been salient elements in the causal chain leading to the decision to move.

The delineation of migrant types is based on migrants' responses to questions on the main reason they gave for leaving the former,

metropolitan residence. Those who cited any of a number of employment related reasons as the *main* reason for leaving are referred to as **jobseekers** (N = 122). **Amenity movers,** on the other hand, are those who moved for environmental push and environmental pull factors (see Chapter 3). They are essentially migrants who gave general anti-urban or pro-rural reasons for moving (N = 138). Migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas and long-term residents do not enter into the present analysis.

Origins and Destinations of Employment and Amenity Movers

Amenity migrants came from different types of places within the metropolitan area than job-seekers and have located in different types of places. Their moves also tend to be of shorter distance. Looking first at the sizes of places of origin, it can be seen that the amenity movers have a decidedly big-city background (Table 8.1), with slightly more than a half originating in big cities (of a quarter of a million or more), almost twice the proportion for job seekers. They also tend to relocate in smaller places. Altogether, 86 percent of the amenity movers are in or near places with less than 5,000 people, compared to 70 percent for the job seekers.

Table 8.1. Sizes of origin and destination, type of current residence and distance moved, by mover type among metropolitan origin migrants

	Job seekers	Amenity movers
	— Percentage —	
Size of place of origin:		
less than 5,000	17	4
5,000 to 49,999	23	24
50,000 to 249,999	32	21
250,000 and over	28	51
Size of place of destination:		
less than 1,000	29	53
1,000 to 4,999	41	33
5,000 to 24,999	27	14
25,000 to 49,999	3	0
Type of current residence:		
In town	36	23
On farms	20	26
Open country, nonfarm	44	51
Distance of move:		
Intrastate	58	70
Interstate:		
intraregional	21	18
interregional	21	12
Base N	122	138

If one were to assume that employment opportunities are more available in larger places, one could begin to understand the job seekers' preferences for living in larger towns. The question that remains, however, is how a large proportion of the job-seekers have managed to find jobs in small towns? If employment were truly the overriding concern, wouldn't a higher proportion be in the bigger towns? The answer may be provided in a recently documented trend that is emerging in many rural areas of the nation — rural suburanization (Long, 1978). In effect, many rural residents are choosing countryside, village, and farm living but commute daily for work in the larger rural communities. Other data in the present survey would suggest this as a possibility. Information from various questions about residential location has aided in identifing whether migrants are residing on farms, in towns, or in the open country, nonfarm portion of the nonmetropolitan area. These data are presented in Table 8.1. The surprising result is not that amenity movers are living in more rural residences but that a large portion (64 percent) of the job-seekers also are in the most rural residences — living on farms or in the countryside. Several conclusions are possible; first, while job-seekers did move for employment reasons, there was also an underlying concern for amenities. Second, they live in close proximity to places of employment; and third, they may have simply settled in residences where housing was available.

Finally, the data in Table 8.1 show that the job-seekers have generally made longer distance moves, as evidenced by the fact that 41 percent moved into their current places of residence from outside the state, compared with 30 percent for the amenity movers. The availability of jobs in the faster growing nonmetropolitan areas of the region exerts a pull on employment motivated individuals at great distances. This pull cannot be explained, however, in terms of return migration or in terms of ties to destination areas. The two mover groups are separated by only a 3 percentage point difference on return migrant status, and the amenity movers are more likely than the job-seekers to have had pre-move ties to the destination areas. Quite simply, job-seekers' moves seem to be less dependent on ties to the area of destination than amenity moves -- coming further distances and to places where they have fewer ties and personal contacts.

Characteristics of Amenity and Employment Movers

Other research has shown that, compositionally, the migrants in the stream moving in a nonmetropolitan direction tend to have better jobs, are younger, and are more educated than the nonmetropolitan population they are joining (DeJong, 1976; Mitchell, 1975). Earlier sample comparisons (Chapter 1) support this finding. The question here, however, is whether migrants responding to dif-

ferent stimuli for moving vary in terms of their personal and socio-economic characteristics.

The characterization generally associated with metropolitan origin migrants as being younger, better educated, and with higher incomes seems to fit the job-seekers more closely than it does the amenity movers (Table 8.2). The amenity movers are older, less educated, and have lower incomes than the job-seekers. For example, only 8 percent of the job-seekers are 55 and over, while 28 percent of the amenity migrants are 55 and over (Table 8.2). Similarly, a much higher proportion of the job-seekers finished college (34 percent compared to 13 percent). Finally, amenity migrants have much lower current (1976) incomes than the job-seekers, with almost half earning less than $10,000 a year (Table 8.2). No differences of any note were found on the household composition measure (data not presented).

There are some minor occupational differences among the groups. Using the three-category breakdown based on standard Census occupation categories (see Chapter 2), a much higher proportion (53 percent vs. 32 percent) of the job-seekers are in the upper white-collar occupations, while the amenity migrants are much more likely to be in blue-collar occupations (Table 8.2)

Table 8.2. Characteristics of job seekers and amenity movers among the metropolitan origin inmigrants

	Job seekers	Amenity movers
	— Percentage —	
Age:		
35 or less	46	41
36 to 54	46	31
55 and over	8	28
Education:		
less than high school	12	25
high school	32	45
some college	22	17
completed college +	34	13
Current (1976) income:		
$10,000 or less	19	49
$10,001 to $20,000	54	37
over $20,000	27	14
Current occupation:		
Upper white collar	53	32
Lower white collar	11	14
Blue collar	36	54
Base N	122	138

Impact of Move on Job-Seekers' and Amenity Movers' Households

One of the common conceptions of metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants, especially those moving for what we have termed amenity reasons, is that the move involves a substantial sacrifice in terms of income, occupational advancement, and opportunities in general. The desire to leave the urban area, or to move to a rural area, is assumed to be the overriding concern of amenity movers, with many of the other concomitants of migration assuming secondary importance. Thus, metropolitan origin amenity migrants are assumed to be willing to trade many of the advantages of urban living and the life-style they had for a more rural environment, including risking temporary unemployment, shifting to a different occupation, traveling longer distances for services and shopping, changing type of housing, and making new adjustments.

It is not so easy to make the same argument for the job-seekers for whom it is assumed that amenity factors are of secondary importance. What motivates their migration are the opportunities it provides for new, better, or different employment. There is thus reason to believe that while some trade-offs may be involved in their moves, if, overall, the move has been economically and occupationally beneficial, they would experience fewer serious economic sacrifices or disruptions.

There are several issues or questions involved here. Is it the case that amenity movers' decisions are so strongly dominated by amenity considerations that they are willing to undergo economic and occupational as well as other disruptions and losses? Conversely, are the job-seekers who are presumably moving to take advantage of employment opportunities in rapidly growing nonmetropolitan areas actually gaining from the move? Are they improving themselves as much as one would assume, given their stated reason for moving?

Employment status changes

Table 8.3 presents data on amenity migrants' and job-seekers' premove employment status and current employment status for household heads and spouses, separately. A higher proportion of the job-seekers (87 percent) were employed (full or part time) at the time of the move than the amenity movers (77 percent). Much of the difference can be explained in terms of the age difference between the two mover types and the higher incidence of retirement among the household heads of the amenity movers. However, the reverse is found among migrants' spouses. There is a slightly higher incidence of spouse employment among the amenity movers, 50 percent compared with 43 percent.

The question raised now is what happened in the period between the time of the move and the present time? The data illustrate that in the period between the time of the move and the present there

was a shift to a higher level of involvement in the labor force for both job-seekers and their spouses. Among the job-seeker households, proportions of household heads employed increased from 87 percent to 93 percent and spouse employment went from 43 percent to 49 percent (Table 8.3). Most of the shift consisted of people reentering the labor force, unlike the amenity movers who are experiencing reduced labor force participation. Among the amenity migrants, however, levels of employment dropped for both heads of households and spouses, the retirement level nearly doubled, and a sizeable number of spouses dropped out of the labor force.

Both types of migrants seem to have experienced beneficial employment status changes, but the job-seekers, as one would expect, had less employment disruptions or shifts in employment status. Unemployment was low prior to the move, and it is even lower currently. We also have been able to establish with other data (not shown) that all job seekers who were unemployed or employed part-time prior to the move are currently employed full time. Amenity migrants, however, experienced more employment status disruptions; about 7 percent of those who were employed full time before moving are currently out of work (data not shown). Some of these are recent migrants, and as a result that figure should be regarded with some caution. In general, it seems that the job-seekers and amenity movers and their spouses have not fared

Table 8.3. Employment, occupation, and income changes among job seekers and amenity migrants from metropolitan areas

	Job seekers		Amenity migrants	
	Household heads	Spouses	Household heads	Spouses
			— Percentage —	
Pre-move employment status:				
Employed	87	43	77	50
Unemployed	5	3	7	5
Retired	1	1	12	4
Not in labor force	7	53	4	41
Current employment status:				
Employed	93	49	71	39
Unemployed	3	5	4	2
Retired	3	2	22	9
Not in labor force	0	44	3	50
Occupational prestige change:				
Same prestige category	58		57	
Lower prestige category	21		15	
Higher prestige category	21		28	
Income change — portion earning:				
More after move	42		16	
Less after move	30		55	
Approximately the same	28		29	

badly. Unemployment levels for heads have decreased. Many of the spouses have apparently found jobs and entered the labor force, and their unemployment level likewise is low.

In response to the question posed earlier about disruptions accompanying the moves, the findings suggest that neither group has had undue difficulty finding work. There are few apparent employment "costs" associated with the move for either migrant type. There have been employment status shifts, but these have been largely to retirement for the amenity movers and into employment for the job-seekers. The data suggest that few have had problems with finding employment in these rural settings.

Occupational changes

It is possible that while employment may not necessarily have been disrupted, a different sort of "cost" may have accompanied the move — a shift to a different and perhaps less prestigious occupation. It is a rather widespread conception that many metropolitan origin migrants are willing to, and do, take different, lower paying, or less prestigious jobs when moving to a rural environment. Often, though, this phenomenon is explained in terms of the lack of diversity in rural occupational structures. Whatever the reason, we are trying to determine if there is any evidence that amenity migrants and job-seekers are more or less inclined to have either changed occupations or changed to less prestigious occupations.

In many of the following comparisons we are dealing with relatively few cases, and while they provide some basis for discussing differences between the two migrant types, they are not a good basis for generalizations regarding employment patterns. Using the full array of Census occupational categories presented in Chapter 1, we determined what portion of the migrants in the labor force changed from one occupational category to another, the points of comparison being pre-move occupations and current (1977) occupation. The figures are quite similar for both mover types, and consequently the shifts have not been reported in detail. Thirty-nine percent of the job-seekers and 36 percent of amenity migrants made a change in type of occupation, some to higher level occupations and others to lower occupations (data not shown). Beyond this comparison, so few cases are involved that it becomes impossible to say much about specific types of changes.

Using the occupational prestige scores discussed earlier (Chapter 4), and the detailed occupations reported in Chapter 1, it was possible to determine whether moves have involved changes in occupational prestige levels for those in the labor force before moving. To determine whether there was shifting up or down, or even whether occupational prestige remained the same after moving, five 20-point interval prestige categories were created and prior and current occupations were assigned to one of these categories. The occupational prestige-change categories shown in Table 8.3 reflect

the shifts which took place among the categories over the two time points. In a little more than half the cases no change in prestige category was involved for either migrant type, although there are differences in the direction of the shift. Job-seekers were more likely to have experienced a downward shift between the two points in time. A little over one in five of the job-seekers dropped to a lower occupational prestige category, compared with 15 percent of the amenity migrants. Amenity movers were also more likely to have shifted to a higher prestige category. In neither case, however, are the differences likely to be significant.

Income changes

Data in Table 8.3 are especially revealing about the income change experienced by the two mover groups in the year following the move. More than half of the amenity movers experienced a drop in income in the year just after the move; relatively few went up. This is not to argue necessarily that they have voluntarily given up higher paying jobs to maximize rurl amenities. More likely it reflects the number of retirements that coincided with the amenity-based moves. Still, it is apparent that considerably more amenity movers had lower incomes than job seekers. This change is brought out more explicitly in comparisons of current and premove income distributions (data not presented), where we see that the job-seekers had an overall shift to higher incomes, in marked contrast with the pattern for the amenity movers.

Development and Growth Implications

The influx of metropolitan area residents into nonmetropolitan areas is being viewed as a turnaround in more than numbers alone. Migrants of urban origin are assumed to bring a different set of perspectives or values to the communities and areas in which they relocate. In particular it is felt that they bring vastly different conceptions of what is appropriate and desirable in the way of growth and economic development. It is not apparent in this view whether all or only specific types of migrants will have different views or in what ways they will differ. Will they be, for example, much more receptive toward preserving the character and amenities of the areas to which they are attracted by adopting an antigrowth and development stance for these areas, or are they likely to be receptive to changes and put pressure on local governments to improve rural services and facilities to bring them more in line with those in their areas of origin?

There is reason to believe that the answer to these questions may be different for different types of migrants. Those motivated by the unattractiveness of cities and the attractiveness of rural areas may be concerned more with preserving the "ruralness" of their new residences and assume a negative posture with regard to future growth and economic development issues. Similarly, those

moving for employment reasons may be either less concerned about preserving presumed rural amenities or, conversely, more concerned with the economic development of rural areas.

The following section traces out job-seekers' and amenity migrants' attitudes toward several aspects of rural growth and development: receptivity toward public officials' development efforts, receptivity toward tax increases as a means of developing certain aspects of the community, and attitudes toward population growth.

The data reported in Table 8.4 show that there is at best a slight tendency for job-seekers to be more in favor of economic development efforts. Both migrant groups, however, are quite comparable and not very different from the overall sample which showed (Chapter 6) that a large proportion of the migrants are favorable to these different types of development efforts by public officials.

Although the two types of migrants are in agreement on development efforts by public officials, they are not equally receptive to improving the rural area by means of tax increases. The job-seekers are 6 to 16 percentage points more receptive to increased taxation (Table 8.4), with the exception of taxing to improve medical facilities. Perhaps this greater willingness to tax relates to the income positions of the two migrant groups, to the greater willingness of amenity migrants to accept less in their new residences than the job-seekers, or perhaps more basically to their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the current community. In other data (not presented) we found dissatisfaction with the current community to be higher for the job-seekers than for the amenity migrants, 10 percent versus 3 percent, respectively. It seems that the amenity migrants, who are somewhat older and have lower incomes, are more

Table 8.4. Amenity movers' and job seekers' perspectives on development and growth.

Question:	Job seekers	Amenity movers
	— Percentage —	
Should elected officials try to . . .		
Keep factories out of area	21	21
Attract tourists and promote recreation	85	84
Develop the business district of the community	90	86
Attract new residents to the area	78	74
Taxes should be increased to . . .		
Improve schools	48	29
Build parks	43	33
Improve medical facilities	49	48
Improve police protection	41	33
Improve area roads	50	43
Provide services for senior citizens	45	36
Base N	122	138

willing to forego improvements if it means increasing taxes. It might be suggested that this is one of the trade-offs they have made in moving from a metropolitan to a nonmetropolitan area. They are apparently ready to give up various improvements to keep costs of living lower.

Another way of looking at the same data in Table 8.4 would be to point out the overall unwillingness of both groups to raise taxes. The proportions reporting a willingness to improve community services and facilities are, with one exception (roads), in the minority for all items and for both mover types.

It was argued earlier (Chapter 1) that migrants' perspectives on development issues reflect an unwillingness to support strategies which involve direct costs to the migrants themselves as would be reflected in higher taxes. There is not, however, an aversion to strategies which would develop nonmetropolitan areas even though some long-term or indirect costs might be involved. As an example of this preference on the part of migrants, it can be pointed out that there is substantial support for industrial development, development via tourism, and population growth, as shown in the upper part of Table 8.4.

Involvement of Migrants in Their New Residences

We have fairly well dispelled the notion that amenity movers are more disposed toward maintaining the "ruralness" of their areas than the job-seekers. And if responses in the previous section are compared with those obtained earlier in Chapter 6, the perspectives of these groups are not very different from those of residents on growth and development issues. The amenity movers are somewhat more opposed to community improvements involving additional taxes, but this reluctance probably has more to do with their economic position rather than some desire to preserve the character of rural areas.

There are cases of research on specific amenity-rich areas where it has been shown that newcomers have had a high level of involvement in the locality, presumably as one means for affecting the decision-making process (Hennigh, 1978) and of assuring that the area does not change (Graeber, 1974; Cockerham and Blevins, 1977). Since the amenity mover sample has no distinctive view regarding local growth and development issues, it is not likely that motivation for local involvement is particularly strong among them. There are, however, other reasons for involvement but not much justification for speculation why one mover group should be different from the other.

In terms of the extent to which they hold memberships in local organizations, the amenity and employment migrants are almost identical (data not shown). About a third of each group reports having held an elected position in local organizations, with about a 4 percent difference between the mover groups, and both mover

groups are identical on participation in local clubs and organizations. Equal portions (38 percent) belong to no clubs or organizations; 49 percent belong to less than three. Thus, on both measures of involvement the two groups are practically identical with no basis for arguing that the amenity movers are going to be more involved in their localities.

Mobility Intentions of Employment and Amenity Movers

The ultimate impact issue concerns the permanence of recent migrants in their new residences. The question here is whether job-seekers are more permanent in their new residences than the amenity movers. There is some reason to believe that if they are economic maximizers, they would be more receptive to employment opportunities — whether they existed — and be less concerned with the residential qualities of an area. By contrast, amenity movers would be quite content to stay if they have attained the amenities they sought in rural living.

The data in Table 8.5 support this line of reasoning. A considerably higher percentage of the amenity movers prefer to stay where they are; few expect to move within the next three years (Table 8.5). The job-seekers seem to be much more mobile on both of these mobility measures. The two groups also differ on residential preferences for those expecting to leave, with the job-seekers more likely to express a preference for big city (12 percent) and large town living (25 percent) than the amenity movers who basically prefer more rural residences. In summary, the job-seekers are somewhat less committed to living in their present communities, they expect more mobility, and given the choice if and when they move, they are more likely than the amenity movers to prefer larger urban areas (37 percent vs. 14 percent).

Table 8.5. Mobility expectations and residential preferences of amenity movers and job seekers among the metropolitan origin migrants

Mobility expectations and preferred residence	Job seekers	Amenity movers
	— Percentage —	
Prefer to live in another community	25	5
Expect to move within next three years	38	16
Preferred type of residence for those expecting to move within next three years:		
Big city	12	2
Large town	25	12
Small town	13	14
Countryside	40	49
Farm	10	23
Base N	122	138

Summary and Discussion

The preceding analyses provides some insights into the similarities and differences between two specific migrant groups which make up a large portion of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream. It was suggested earlier that areas which may attract one type of migrant rather than the other might be affected differently insofar as the motivation for moving tends to select different types of individuals and households out of the metropolitan area. The data have shown this to be a correct hypothesis, with certain qualifications.

Amenity movers generally come from larger urban places and relocate in the smaller and more rural places; they are different in age and education but not in terms of household composition, occupation, occupational prestige, or pre-move income. These comparisons do not provide much evidence to suggest that amenity migrants are the upper middle-class movers often alluded to in popular reporting on urbanities fleeing cities for more rural environments. At least, they are no more middle-class than migrants moving for an entirely different reason — employment.

The job-seekers seem to be much more concerned with employment, as one would expect given the reason for leaving the metropolitan residence. Almost all who want to work are working, and over time there has been a trend toward increased involvement of both heads and spouses in the labor force. Financially, they have done quite well with about 70 percent earning the same or more in the year after the move than in the year prior to the move. Thus, for a large portion of this mover type there has been very little financial disruption. All of this is in contrast to what is seen for the amenity movers, although the comparison can be misleading because some of the amenity movers have coupled the move with retirement or retired since the move to the nonmetropolitan residence. Many of their spouses also either have retired or dropped out of the labor force between the time of the move and the time of the survey. All of these changes would have a bearing on household income.

Although the job-seekers have improved their incomes by moving, they were slightly more likely to have done so at the expense of occupational prestige than the amenity movers. Still, the majority of both migrant types remained at the same occupational prestige level or moved up.

Finally, few striking differences were found between the two migrant types on attitudes toward several development strategies or on participation. The amenity migrants were somewhat more reluctant to favor tax increases than the job-seekers, but in general there is no reason to believe that amenity migrants have become overly involved in local affairs or represent a distinctive perspective on growth and development issues.

As one might expect of the job-seekers, they are attuned to opportunities elsewhere and as a result are somewhat more mobile

when compared with the amenity migrants. They are more dissatisfied with their current communities, have a much higher expectation of moving, and given a choice of type of residence, slightly more than a third (37 percent) of those expecting to move would prefer living in a big city or large town.

This analysis has cleared up some of the misconceptions about these specific mover groups. The amenity movers do not easily fit the stereotype which has been promoted and reinforced in reports of "middle class escapism" or "elitism gone to the country for cure." (Time, 1976). We have shown that in general they are not uniquely upper middle class. In fact, the job-seekers may more closely fit the middle-class stereotype than the amenity movers.

It is also possible to allay fears that amenity movers, at least at this point in time, are going to represent a distinctly anti-growth or anti-development attitude or that they are going to involve themselves extensively in local affairs to promote this view. They are not against growth or development, and they are no more likely than the job-seekers (or all other movers, for that matter) to participate in local affairs and activities. Case studies which describe local situations at variance with our findings may well be accurate descriptions of the impact newcomers have. All we have shown is that, at a broad regional level, they are not likely to be more conservative or participative locally.

Chapter 9

THE OLDER METROPOLITAN MIGRANT AS A FACTOR IN RURAL POPULATION GROWTH

Nina Glasgow

In migration decision making it is often assumed that migrants attempt to maximize benefits while minimizing move-related costs. Thus, economic as well as noneconomic factors may be pertinent considerations in the decision to move. This chapter focuses on migration strategies of elderly metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants by examining their motivations for leaving the metropolitan area and the efficacy of the move for older migrants involved in the population turnaround. A "gain-loss" analytic framework is used in assessing changes which accompany their moves, the extent of migrant ties to the destination area, and migrants' perceptions of the quality of life in the current place of residence compared to the prior residence. Attitudes toward community growth and development and increases in local taxes are then analyzed to get a perspective on the type of community elderly migrants prefer. Finally, to infer whether nonmetropolitan areas have met the perceived needs of older metropolitan origin migrants, their mobility intentions are examined.

Prior research has shown that migration is inversely related to age. Among the elderly who do migrate, however, retirement is often the preciptating event (Chevan and Fisher, 1978), and quality of life rather than economic factors are frequently the main determinants (Cebula, 1974). The decision to move may be made well before retirement, but migration often occurs with retirement and the associated freedom from job location constraints (Dailey *et. al.*, 1977). Warm climate is an especially important influence on destination selection of elderly migrants. The large majority of all elderly net migration occurs in the "sunshine states." Availability of medical and recreational facilities are other features of areas which attract a disproportionately high number of older migrants (Cebula, 1974).

The elderly have contributed prominently to the reverse migration pattern. Tucker (1976) and Wang and Beegle (1977), for example, report that the elderly have shown the most dramatic increase in any age cohort in metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migration. Furthermore, Williams (1978), in an aggregate analysis of the North Central Region, and DeLind (1978), using case study data, provided documentation that the early inmigrants in the turnaround flow were disproportionately retirement age persons. As the developmental impacts of elderly migration became ap-

page 152 - Blank

153

parent, a substantial proportion of the later wave of inmigrants was composed of younger persons. Beale (1975; 1978) has suggested that the growth of recreation and retirement activities have been important explanatory factors in the turnaround phenomenon and that scenic beauty, outdoor activities, and the promise of a more relaxed life-style are the attributes which have attracted migrants to the reversal growth counties.

Researchers examining motivations for moving and destination selection among the urban elderly relocating in particular rural areas of the Midwest offer a number of possible reasons. Wang and Beegle (1977) suggest that problems due to retirement (e.g., reduced level of living) and fulfillment of residental preferences are the broad concerns affecting residential mobility of the elderly. Koebernick and Beegle (1978) analyzed data from a sample of elderly metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants in a Michigan county and found that anti-urban and pro-rural sentiments were given by a majority of the movers as the reason for leaving the city. Retirement, escape from the economic disadvantages of the city (especially high cost of living and taxes), and unsatisfactory social networks were some of the other reasons given for leaving. On the other hand, social ties which developed from previous visiting and vacationing, property ownership, and social networks were the most frequently cited reasons for choosing the destination area. A substantial proportion of the sample also gave a preference for rural amenities as the reason for the choice of destination (Koebernick and Beegle, 1978).

Few data are available on the status characteristics, ties, and attitudes of older metropolitan origin migrants. In the Michigan case study, Koebernick and Beegle (1978) show that most elderly inmigrants are married couples in their relatively early retirement years, many with prior ties in the area. Most were homeowners before moving and an even greater percentage became homeowners in their new residences. Most reported satisfaction with the move and indicated they did not plan to move again in the near future.

Two types of comparison are important in this chapter: First, **older migrants** will be compared with **younger migrants** to determine differences in motivations for moving, in gains and losses, and in attitudes toward the community. Second, the older **migrants** will be compared with older **residents** to determine if the two groups differ in their experiences in and attitudes toward the local community. Age groups are defined on the basis of the year of birth of household heads. The metropolitan origin elderly migrants are thus defined as heads of households 60 years of age and over who moved from a metropolitan residence (N = 159). Younger metropolitan migrants are defined as household heads under 60 years of age (N = 342). The rural resident elderly are household heads 60 years of age and over who were living in the nonmetropolitan area prior to 1970 (N = 176).

Characteristics of Elderly Migrants

In this section a description of older metropolitan origin migrants' background characteristics is provided. The questions asked are: How large a fraction is the elderly in the high growth counties? Who are they? What stratum of society do they come from? What are their origins and destinations? These data will provide information on the backgrounds of elderly migrants, insights into the impact migration has had on them, and point out some of the preferences older migrants have exercised in relocating in their new residences. The discussion is structured in gain versus loss terms and, where appropriate, data are presented on migrant characteristics prior to and after moving and in comparison with younger migrants and elderly residents.

Elderly proportion of the inmigrant stream

Persons 60 years of age and over comprise 32 percent of the sample of metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migrants. A case study of a Michigan county also found that older migrants were a substantial, although not dominant, portion of the reverse migration flow (DeLind, 1978). The data from our study as well as DeLind's, however, focus on retirement-recreation oriented areas and are unrepresentative of metropolitan-nonmetropolitan movement among the elderly in the United States in general. Bowles (1978) reported data from the Current Population Survey showing that, nationally, persons 55-64 years of age were only 7 percent and individuals 65 years and over were only 6 percent of metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants.

Elderly migration has the potential to effect nonmetropolitan areas in several ways. The age structure of communities may be altered and the dependency ratio increased, given that a large inflow of retirees would reduce the proportion of the adult population in the labor force. Since women have a greater life expectancy than men, elderly migration may also change the sex ratio of communities. In addition, elderly migration may result in increased demand for particular local government services and help stimulate growth in the service sector of the local economy. Certainly, the older portion of the migration stream is sufficiently large to alert the attention of policy makers to the special needs of the elderly.

Demographic and housing characteristics

The metropolitan origin migrant elderly and the resident elderly differ on age, with 68 being the mean age of elderly migrant household heads and 73 the mean age of rural elderly households heads (data not presented). The mean age of younger migrant heads is 38. As in the Koebernick and Beegle (1978) case study, elderly migrants in this study are generally in their relatively early retirement years.

The household composition of elderly migrants and the resident elderly is predominantly married couples without children (63 percent and 55 percent, respectively) or single person households (21 percent and 27 percent). This stands in contrast to the dominant mode of household composition among younger migrants which is married couples with children (62 percent). Given the differences in age and life cycle stage of the groups represented in the analysis, these findings are not surprising (Table 9.1). With the sample of resident elderly being older and more likely to be widowed (a separate analysis of marital status not shown in the table confirms this), one would expect to find a higher proportion of single-person and a lower proportion of couple households among the resident than the migrant elderly. Similarly, one would expect children to be present in many younger households, whereas one would expect few couple-with-children households among the elderly migrants.

It has been shown that single-family homes are the preferred type of housing unit and that home owners are generally more satisfied with their housing than renters (Marans and Rodgers, 1975). In Chapter 4 it was seen that most metropolitan migrants lived in single-family homes in both the former and current places of residence and that a "gain" in the proportion of single family dwellers occurred with the move. With the change in residence, the proportion of homeowners also increased. Comparing elderly and younger metropolitan origin migrants on housing and tenure changes that accompanied the move, we find that a majority of both older and younger migrants lived in single family housing in

Table 9.1. Household and housing characteristics of older metropolitan origin migrants, younger metropolitan origin migrants, and elderly residents

Household and housing characteristics	Metropolitan origin elderly		Metropolitan origin young		Resident elderly	
	— Percentage —					
Household composition:						
Single-person household	21		8		27	
Married couple only	63		19		55	
Married couple with children	10		62		7	
Other	6		11		11	
Type of housing, current (pre-move):						
Single family conventional	78	(81)	83	(67)	86	—
Multiple family	4	(15)	4	(27)	6	—
Mobile home	17	(3)	12	(5)	7	—
Other (rooming house, etc.)	1	(1)	1	(1)	1	—
Housing tenure, current (pre-move):						
Own	90	(82)	81	(59)	87	—
Rent	7	(17)	17	(40)	12	—
Live with relative or employer provided housing	3	(1)	2	(1)	1	—
Base N	159		342		176	

the former and the current residences (pre-move data are presented in parentheses in Table 9.1). However, as a result of the move the elderly experienced slight downward mobility in the proportions residing in single-family homes (from 81 percent to 78 percent), while the proportion of younger migrants in single family dwellings increased rather substantially from 67 percent to 83 percent. The proportions living in mobile homes increased among both the elderly (from 3 percent to 1[illegible] percent) and the younger metropolitan origin migrants (from 5 percent to 12 percent). Across the two locations the shift among younger migrants in type of housing was away from apartments and duplexes to more single-family and mobile home living. Although the metropolitan origin elderly "lost" slightly in conventionally preferred single-family housing as a result of the move, much of the change probably reflects differences in housing needs at their particular life cycle stage.

Elderly migrants and the resident elderly are quite similar in their types of housing (Table 9.1). However, a higher proportion of the rural resident than migrant elderly live in single family dwellings (86 percent versus 78 percent), while fewer live in mobile homes (8 percent compared to 17 percent). Thus, the rural elderly are more likely than metropolitan origin migrant elderly to live in what is generally regarded as the preferred type of housing, although the difference is not great.

Shifts in housing tenure were associated with the move for both older and younger migrants (Table 9.1). In the current residence, the percentage owning their own homes increased from 82 percent to 90 percent among the elderly metropolitan origin migrants and from 59 percent to 81 percent among younger metropolitan origin migrants. There were corresponding decreases in the proportions of renters across the two time periods. The increase in the proportions of homeowners, especially dramatic among younger migrants, is suggestive of cheaper and more readily available housing in nonmetropolitan areas.

In the current residence, elderly metropolitan origin migrants (90 percent) are even slightly more likely than the resident elderly (87 percent) to be homeowners. Of course, elderly migrants are more likely than the resident elderly to live in mobile homes, which are cheaper to own than single family homes. At any rate, there was an upward shift in home ownership for both older and younger migrants moving from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas.

Socioeconomic characteristics

Elderly migrants who cross state boundaries tend to be higher in status than nonmobile elderly and elderly local movers (Chevan and Fisher, 1978; Wiseman and Roseman, 1978). Information on education, occupation, income, and the status changes accompanying the move are presented in the hope of determining the ex-

tent to which the elderly are a resource transfer or transfer of a dependent population to the sampled nonmetropolitan areas.

In the general population, young adults are better educated than older adults and urbanites have higher educational levels than residents of rural areas. The findings of this study are consistent with U.S. patterns. The educational level of older migrants is lower than the level of younger migrants but higher than that of the resident elderly sample (Table 9.2).

In looking at employment status of heads of households (Table 9.2), in the former residence most metropolitan origin elderly were either employed (53 percent) or retired (41 percent), whereas in the current residence they are predominantly retired (84 percent). Thus, although a substantial proportion of the metropolitan origin elderly was already retired prior to moving, many undertook the move at the time of their retirement from the labor force. Younger migrant household heads were predominantly employed in both the former (80 percent) and the current residence (85 percent). It was reported in Chapter 2 that a change in employment status from "employed" to "retired" coincided with the move for a substantial portion of the metropolitan origin migrants. It is clear from Table 9.2 that the large majority of migrants who retired from the labor force upon moving were 60 years of age or over, although there was

Table 9.2. Socioeconomic characteristics of metropolitan origin elderly, metropolitan origin young migrants, and the resident elderly

Socioeconomic characteristics	Metropolitan origin elderly		Metropolitan origin young		Resident elderly	
	— Percentage —					
Education:						
Less than high school	72		59		79	
High school	17		21		16	
College	11		20		5	
Employment status, head of household (pre-move employment status in parentheses):						
Employed	10	(53)	85	(80)	21	—
Unemployed	0	(0)	3	(7)	0	—
Retired	84	(41)	9	(5)	68	—
Not in labor force	6	(6)	3	(8)	11	—
Pre-move occupational classification, head of household:						
Upper white collar	33		37		—	
Lower white collar	16		14		—	
Blue collar	51		49		—	
Income, 1976 (pre-move):						
Under $10,000	74	(42)	37	(39)	86	—
$10,000 and over	26	(58)	63	(61)	14	—
Base N's	159		342		176	

also a slight increase in the proportion of retirees among the younger household heads as well.

It is worth noting that a substantially greater proportion of resident elderly (21 percent) than elderly metropolitan origin migrants (10 percent) was employed at the time of the interview and, conversely, fewer resident elderly were retired (Table 9.2). As will be seen in the next section on residence, a higher proportion of the resident elderly report living on farms, suggesting that some who are still in the labor force are farmers.

Among household heads employed in the prior residence (Table 9.2), older and younger migrants were distributed about equally across occupational classifications. About a third held upper white-collar jobs in the metropolitan residence, while about half of each age group was in blue-collar occupations. Elderly migrants, despite their lower level of education, were as likely as the younger household heads to hold high status occupations, a finding which may be indicative of advantages accrued through job seniority. Comparisons between earlier and current occupation were not made since so few of the elderly migrants remained in the labor force after the move.

Elderly migrants compare rather favorably with younger migrants and the resident elderly on income (Table 9.2). Pre-move income levels of elderly and younger migrants were comparable, even though a higher proportion of the elderly household heads were retired (41 percent to 5 percent). As one might expect with the increase in retirement, however, elderly households overall "lost" in income from the year prior to the move to their 1976 move.

The current (1976) incomes of elderly migrants were substantially higher than those of the resident elderly. Twenty-six percent of the metropolitan origin elderly migrants had incomes over $10,000 for the year, while only 14 percent of the resident elderly reported incomes that high. In data not shown in the table, it was found that 36 percent of the elderly migrants reported incomes below $5,000, compared with fully 63 percent of the resident elderly.

Although it is apparent that many elderly migrants have reached the stage in their lives when they are living on reduced income, they are relatively more affluent than the resident elderly. Considering that elderly migrants live mainly in small, married couple household units, it does not appear that elderly metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migration represents the transfer of a largely dependent population.

Residence characteristics

Elderly migrants differ very little from the younger migrants in terms of size of places of origin; both moved predominantly from large metropolitan centers of over 250,000 population (Table 9.3). In their choice of destination, however, a higher percentage of

elderly migrants moved toward the smallest of the nonmetropolitan communities. Ninety percent relocated in or near places under 5,000 population, compared with 80 percent of the younger migrants.

A further look at type of residence (Table 9.3) will show that the elderly migrants differ from the younger migrants and the elderly residents. Over half of the elderly migrants live in open country, nonfarm residences, 34 percent in towns, and 12 percent on farms. The pattern of residence among younger migrants is similar. Residence patterns of elderly migrants and the rural elderly differ considerably; approximately two-thirds of the metropolitan origin elderly are living in the countryside or on farms, compared with about half (51 percent) of the resident elderly. The resident elderly are more likely than migrant elderly to live on farms, probably farms they have been living on for years.

The above data on residence characteristics indicate a strong preference among elderly migrants for the smaller, relatively more rural locations in these nonmetropolitan areas. Elderly migrants and even the younger migrants, in comparison with the rural elderly, however, have put themselves at a relative disadvantage in relation to shopping and serviecs. Elderly migrants live greater distances from the centers of the towns with which they identify and, although the differences are not large, they travel farther than the resident elderly and the younger migrants to obtain most services (data not presented here; for information on the types of services examined, see in Chapter 5).

Table 9.3. Residence characteristics of metropolitan origin elderly, young migrants and the resident elderly

Residence characteristics	Metropolitan origin elderly	Metropolitan origin young	Resident elderly
		— Percentage —	
Size of place of origin:			
Less than 5,000	9	12	—
5,000 to 49,999	29	25	—
50,000 to 249,999	26	28	—
250,000 and over	36	35	—
Size of place of current residence:			
Less than 1,000	50	46	50
1,000 to 4,999	40	34	31
5,000 to 24,999	10	18	18
25,000 to 49,999	0	1	1
Type of residence:			
In town	34	34	49
On farm	12	25	29
Open country nonfarm	54	41	22
Base N	159	342	176

Elderly Migrants' Motivations for Moving

It was pointed out earlier (Chapter 3) that the metropolitan origin migrants were moving mainly for environmental and employment reasons. Among elderly migrants, however, retirement is expected to assume greater importance as a motivating factor in the move, although the desire for rural amenities and social ties to the area of destination has been indicated as important motivating factors in the choice of destination among the urban elderly moving to rural areas (Koebernick and Beegle, 1978).

Table 9.4 shows that retirement was most often cited by elderly migrants as the reason for leaving the metropolitan area, while a third cited environmental reasons. The data presented here suggest that retirement was an important event leading to a search for a new residence, although it is apparent that environmental factors also played a substantial role in the decision of many elderly to leave the metropolitan area. In contrast, employment is much more important in younger migrant's decisions to leave the urban area.

In terms of reasons for choosing the area of destination (Table 9.4), a majority of the elderly migrants (58 percent) cite ties to the destination area, and a large proportion (35 percent) gave environmental, or amenity, reasons. Among younger migrants, destination selection was motivated mainly by ties but also by employment and amenity considerations.

Migrants' Ties in Destination Areas

As has been seen, ties to the area of destination were quite important in affecting the relocation decisions among the older migrants. This section presents data documenting the types and ex-

Table 9.4. Reason for moving and for destination selection by elderly and younger migrants

Motivations for move and destination selection	Elderly metropolitan origin migrants	Younger metropolitan origin migrants
	— Percentage —	
Reasons for leaving the prior residence:		
Employment	4	34
Ties	10	6
Environmental	33	44
Retirement	44	5
Other	9	11
Reasons for choosing the area of destination:		
Employment	2	30
Ties	59	39
Environmental	35	27
Retirement	2	1
Other	2	3
Base N	159	342

161

tent of ties in the destination area prior to the move.

Elderly migrants report extensive pre-existing ties in the area of destination; less than 20 percent had not known anyone in the area prior to moving (Table 9.5). In terms of social networks, elderly migrants were twice as likely as younger migrants to have children living in the area and somewhat more likely to have friends or acquaintances in the destination area. However, one might expect a higher proportion of older migrants to have children in the destination area since younger migrants are more likely than older migrants to have children still living at home. On the other hand, a higher proportion of the younger migrants was moving to areas where there were relatives. In all, about two-thirds of both groups had ties of one type or another in the destination area prior to moving there.

Older migrants and younger migrants were equally likely to be return migrants or to have spouses who had lived in the area before (Table 9.5). However, older migrants were twice as likely as younger migrants to have owned property in the area prior to the move. Among the primary migrants, the elderly had had greater contact with the destination area than younger migrants through vacations (68 percent versus 56 percent) and visits with friends and relatives (66 percent versus 44 percent).

Elderly migrants chose areas more on the basis of ties and did, in fact, have more extensive ties to areas than younger migrants.

Table 9.5. Ties to the area of destination of elderly and younger metropolitan origin migrants

Ties to the area of destination	Elderly metropolitan origin migrants	Younger metropolitan origin migrants
	— Percentage —	
No ties	17	26
Social networks:		
Children living in area (within 30 miles)	17	8
Other relatives living in area	48	61
Friends and or acquaintances living in area	65	56
Owned property in area prior to the move	30	16
Return migrants:		
Head of household	24	25
Spouse	20	21
Base N	159	342
Contacts of non-return migrants:		
Vacationed in area prior to move	68	56
Visited friends and or relatives in area prior to move	66	48
Base N	108	232

162

Almost a third had property in the area and, while most elderly migrants were not returning to former residences, they did locate where they had friends. The high proportion of elderly nonreturn migrants who had previously vacationed in these areas suggests that the availability of recreational and retirement activites, cited by Beale (1975), are important factors in nonmetropolitan area growth. That may also have been the means for establishing contacts in the destination area.

Gains and Losses in Quality of Life

Prior research has not examined metropolitan origin elderly migrants' perceptions of gains and losses in quality of life experience, yet it is known that moving from one residence to another involves trade-offs. Here, we assess the impact of migration on migrants themselves by looking at levels of community satisfaction on 10 dimensions of the former and the current residences. This is followed up with a comparison of the former and current residences in which migrants were asked whether the current residence had more, the same, or less of a particular quality than the former residence.

Community satisfaction in the former and current residences

This section uses migrants' ratings of satisfaction in the prior and current residences. On each of the items, the "percent satisfied" includes those responding "somewhat satisfied" or "very satisfied" to the response choices. The difference scores (column 3 and column 6) indicate whether satisfaction was higher in the current (+) or former residence (-).

In the prior residence (Table 9.6), both older and younger migrants were especially satisfied with the availability of medical care, shopping facilities, and the availability of employment (greater than 90 percent of the elderly reported satisfaction with each of those residence features). Older and younger migrants alike were least satisfied with local tax rates (56 percent and 52 percent, respectively) in the prior residence. On all items, except the availability of public transportation, younger migrants were consistently less satisfied than older migrants with the former residence.

In the current residence (Table 9.6) both the elderly and the younger migrants are most satisfied with the friendliness of neighbors, outdoor recreational opportunities, the quality of public schools, and senior citizen's programs. Also, substantially higher proportions of the older and younger migrants are satisfied with local tax rates in the current than in the former residence. Both groups were least satisfied currently with shopping facilities, the

Table 9.6. Community satisfaction in the prior and the current residences, by migrant age groups

Community attribute	Metropolitan origin elderly (N = 159)			Metropolitan origin young (N = 342)		
	Prior residence	Current residence	Difference[a]	Prior residence	Current residence	Difference
	— Percentage satisfied —					
Availability of medical care	96	64	(−32)	94	74	(−20)
Shopping facilities	94	73	(−21)	94	61	(−33)
Availability of employment	93	50	(−43)	86	48	(−38)
Friendliness of neighbors	92	96	(+ 4)	78	97	(+19)
Quality of public schools	88	88	(0)	74	87	(+13)
Outdoor recreational opportunity	86	90	(+ 4)	75	93	(+18)
Maintenance of streets and roads	85	87	(+ 2)	79	79	(0)
Programs for senior citizens	85	87	(+ 2)	80	89	(+ 9)
Availability of public transportation	73	47	(−26)	75	45	(−30)
Local tax rates	56	74	(+18)	52	75	(+23)
Overall satisfaction	86	96	(+10)	75	94	(+19)

[a]A positive difference indicates higher satisfaction in the current residence, a negative difference indicates higher satisfaction in the former residence.

availability of medical care, the availability of employment, and the availability of public transportation. With the exception of public transportation, which received relatively low satisfaction ratings in both communities, the attributes receiving highest satisfaction ratings in the prior residence were the residence features with which the migrants were least satisfied in the current residence. These data indicate that, indeed trade-offs were made in the "quality" of particular residence features of the metropolitan versus the nonmetropolitan residence.

The resident elderly showed greater satisfaction than the elderly migrants on all attributes of the nonmetropolitan residence except local tax rates, with which resident elderly were less satisfied (Table 9.7). Length of residence has been shown to be positively related to community satisfaction (Marans and Rodgers, 1975), and thus, may explain why long-term resident elderly are more satisfied with the attributes of the community than elderly migrants.

In both communities, overall level of satisfaction was higher among the elderly migrants, a finding consistent with community satisfaction research (Marans and Rodgers, 1975) which shows a positive relationship between age and satisfaction with the community. On the measure of **overall satisfaction,** both migrant groups are more satisfied in the current residence than they were in the prior residence. In contrast, levels of satisfaction with specific community features tend to be higher in the prior than in

Table 9.7. Community satisfaction in the current residence, metropolitan origin and resident elderly

Community attribute	Metropolitan origin elderly	Resident elderly	Difference[a]
	— Percentage satisfied —		
Availability of medical care	64	81	+17
Shopping facilities	73	85	+12
Availability of employment	50	80	+30
Friendliness of neighbors	96	98	+ 2
Quality of public schools	88	93	+ 5
Outdoor recreational opportunity	90	94	+ 4
Maintenance of streets and roads	82	87	+ 5
Programs for senior citizens	87	93	+ 6
Availability of public transportation	47	68	+21
Local tax rates	74	68	− 6
Overall satisfaction	96	97	+ 1
Base N	159	176	

[a]A positive sign indicates higher community satisfaction among resident elderly; a negative sign indicates higher satisfaction among metropolitan origin elderly migrants. See the appendix for significance testing procedure.

the current residence. Elderly migrants and elderly residents show about equal levels of overall community satisfaction.

Comparison of residences on "quality of life" criteria

Migrants' perceptions, or subjective evaluations, of the current place of residence compared with the former residence are used to further assess gains and losses in quality of life. The questions characterizing whether the new residence had more, the same, or less of a particular quality than the former residence are paraphrased in Table 9.8. To simplify the data presentation, the proportions saying the former residence was better have been omitted from the table.

The reported gain in quality of life from moving is high for both older and younger migrants, although the younger migrants show a stronger tendency to rate the current residence as the better community. On items of personal safety and well-being (the first grouping of items in Table 9.8), it was only the question of being "closer to family" that older and younger migrants reported a loss in quality of life as a result of moving from the former place of residence. On all other items in this grouping both older and younger migrants report gains in quality of life as a consequence of the move.

In terms of weather and the environment (Table 9.8), most metropolitan origin migrants, old and young, perceive the nonmetropolitan environment as being healthier. Slightly less than half of the metropolitan origin migrants considered themselves to have gained with regard to the weather and a substantial proportion of migrants perceived no change in the weather between the two residences. Given that most of the migrants moved within the

Table 9.8. Migrant's responses to "quality of life" questions

"Quality of life" questions ...	Metropolitan origin elderly		Metropolitan origin young	
	"More so here"	"Same here as there"	"More so here"	"Same here as there"
	— Percentage —			
The neighbors are friendlier	52	37	59	25
I feel safer	80	18	83	14
I am closer to family	27	17	42	14
There is more privacy	70	15	78	5
The environment is healthier	91	7	91	5
The weather is better	46	36	43	31
It's a better place to raise children	83	6	89	7
The schools are better	43	21	45	20
Tax rates are lower	62	20	71	8
It costs less to live	40	33	44	21

region it is not surprising that fewer than a majority perceived a gain in life quality related to weather.

The large majority of both younger and older metropolitan origin migrants perceive the rural residence as the better place to raise children, and a substantial minority of older and younger migrants (43 percent and 45 percent) also felt that schools are better in the current residence.

The last two quality of life items in Table 9.8 examine migrants' perceptions of tax rates and costs of living. A majority of both migrant groups perceive themselves to be "gainers" with lower tax rates in the new residence. Perceived gains in cost of living were more modest; only 40 and 44 percent of older and younger migrants felt the cost of living was lower in the new residence. As suggested earlier (Chapter 4), it is somewhat surprising that the figure is so low especially since lower costs of living in rural are widely touted by urbanites. Apparently for a sizeable portion of the migrants, the cost of living is not lower.

Attitudes Toward Community Improvement

Migration may have an impact on the migrants themselves, but it also has consequences for the social organization of the receiving community. As Schwarzweller (1978) has pointed out, immigrants may bring with them resources and leadership capabilities which give the receiving area new energy, but they may also impose a strain, especially if inmigrants' views are at odds with those of residents. This section examines migrants' and elderly residents' attitudes toward community growth and development and community improvement through tax increases. There data will provide a measure of migrants' perferences and concerns and of how the elderly migrants differ from the resident elderly.

Although the differences are not large, the metropolitan origin migrant elderly are more receptive to community growth and development than either younger metropolitan origin migrants or the resident elderly (Table 9.9). Of the three comparison groups, younger migrants are the least pro-growth and development, but one could hardly say that they are opposed.

The data in Table 9.9 indicate that elderly migrants would be most willing to spend their tax dollars to improve medical facilities (46 percent) and police protection (39 percent). Identical services are of greatest concern to the resident elderly, although they are less supportive of improving medical facilities than the elderly migrants (38 percent versus 46 percent). Considering all community services, including senior citizen services, younger migrants are more supportive of tax increases than older migrants. The more limited endorsement by the elderly to increase taxes for community improvements, doubtless, is related to the lower economic status of the elderly migrants.

Table 9.9. Percentage favoring growth and development, by age group

Growth and development issues	Metropolitan origin elderly	Metropolitan origin young	Resident elderly
		— Percentage —	
Should elected officials try to:			
Keep factories out of area	17	23	14
Attract tourists and promote tourism	90	83	84
Develop the business district of the community	81	86	79
Attract new residents to the area	80	70	74
Taxes should be increased to:			
Improve schools	20	30	26
Build parks	26	36	28
Improve medical facilities	46	49	38
Improve police protection	39	38	41
Improve area roads	32	41	37
Provide services for senior citizens	31	46	32

Mobility Intentions of Migrants

Perceived benefits of the move can be inferred from comparing the mobility intentions of recent immigrants and long-term residents. Data presented earlier indicate that the ties and amenity factors which attracted elderly migrants to nonmetropolitan areas were indeed the aspects of the residence with which elderly migrants were most satisfied. Therefore, one would anticipate that most elderly migrants would expect to stay in the nonmetropolitan residence.

Indeed, only 10 percent of the elderly migrants prefer to live in some other community compared to 17 percent of younger migrants (Table 9.10). However, a still smaller percentage of the resident elderly (5 percent) prefers to live elsewhere. On the mobility expectation measure, however, there is a reversal, with the elderly migrants slightly less likely than the resident elderly to expect to move (9 percent to 10 percent, respectively) within the next three years. Elderly migrants are considerably less likely than younger migrants to expect to move again soon (9 percent versus 27 percent). Thus for most elderly migrants, the move to the nonmetropolitan residence seems to be viewed as a permanent move.

Among those few who expect to move within the next three years, the data show that the elderly, especially, would prefer residences larger than those in which they are now located. Of course, caution should be exercised in interpreting the above data since the N's are small.

Table 9.10. Mobility expectations and residential preferences of elderly and young metropolitan origin migrants

	Metropolitan origin elderly	Metropolitan origin young	Resident elderly
		— Percentage —	
Prefer to live in some other community	10	17	5
Expect to move within next three years	9	27	10
Base N	159	342	176
Preferred type of residence of those expecting to move:			
Big city ≥ 50,000	42	11	7
Large town 10,000-50,000	25	21	7
Small town < 10,000	17	11	60
Countryside	17	41	26
Farm	0	6	0
Base N	12	90	15

Summary and Discussion

A sizeable portion of the metropolitan origin migrants are elderly. A majority are married couples and most live in single family homes. Their occupations and incomes in the prior residence were comparable to the younger migrants', but they are not as well educated. The large majority of elderly migrants are currently retired and their incomes have declined since moving to the nonmetropolitan areas. However, elderly migrants are typically more affluent and better educated than the elderly population they are joining.

Retirement and environmental considerations were the primary motivations among elderly migrants in their decisions to leave the metropolitan area, while social ties and environmental factors were the major influences on their choice of destination.

Findings on community satisfaction suggest that elderly migrants gained in the move in terms of the friendliness of their neighbors, outdoor recreational opportunities, and lower local tax rates. Elderly migrants experienced losses in the availability of medical facilities, shopping facilities, employment, and transportation. However, elderly migrants are more generally satisfied with their current than prior residence.

The move to the nonmetropolitan area seems to have been efficacious for elderly migrants. A large majority prefers to remain in their current residence and few expect to migrate again within the near future. The implication for the receiving communities is that elderly migration can be viewed as relatively permanent. For the

elderly, migration to the nonmetropolitan area seems to mean that many have chosen to live their active retirement years in preferred residence locations and where significant social networks have been established.

Chapter 10

RETURN MIGRANTS FROM METROPOLITAN AREAS

James D. Williams

The literature on population turnaround reveals an awareness that return migration is an important part of the phenomenon. Exactly how important it is is less clear, except for its numerical or proportional significance. It is easily linked to the other two factors of concern in this section: motivations and the substantial proportion of older migrants in the flow from metropolitan areas. First, it has been demonstrated in another study of more limited focus that return migrants tend to give social ties, a noneconomic factor, as reasons for moving (Campbell *et al*, 1977). We will determine whether this is true for the present sample of metropolitan origin migrants. If it is, then the rather unusual motivational structure of the stream from metropolitan areas is in part a function of the phenomenon of return migration. Furthermore, there is a rather general belief that older persons who were the rural to urban migrants of a past generation may now be major contributors to the reverse flow and that their desire to return to a "simpler life" in a well-remembered place is put into effect at retirement. Of course, this is a rather romantic and almost certainly overstated scenario, but never-the-less we will investigate the extent to which return migration from metropolitan areas is associated with the elderly.

The preceding comments suggest ways in which return migration is specifically linked to the turnaround phenomenon. But, other concerns can be gleaned from the more general migration literature. For instance, social ties at a potential destination, or variety of destinations, have for some time been suggested to act as a possible determinant of migration itself, and almost certainly are a determinant of the direction and distance of migration. If social or economic ties resulting from a prior residential experience in the area are important determinants of migration, then, return migrants should tend to express motivations related to social ties, especially as criteria for destination selection, and have more objectively-measured ties than newcomers. Because ties may help reduce the friction of distance, return migrants may have moved farther on the average than newcomers.

We should also investigate, as best we can given the research design, whether these former rural-to-urban migrants seem to be "urban failures." Or, might the return migrants be people who have experienced an economic squeeze such that migration was necessary to avoid rising costs of metropolitan living? Given a need to

migrate, of course, a good alternative is to return to a prior area of residence. This issue will be considered in the course of this chapter.

The purpose of this chapter is to compare newcomers and return migrants in order to investigate the ways in which return migration contributes to some of the unusual aspects of the flow of immigrants from metropolitan areas to the sample of nonmetropolitan counties.

In spite of their presumed preponderance, fewer return migrants were contacted than might be expected. For instance, Campbell *et al.* (1977) found that nearly half of those inmigrating to their Ozarks sample counties were return migrants. Using a strict definition of return migration, 25 percent of the household heads in this study report having lived in the county of current residence at some point in the past. Somewhat more, about 32 percent, had lived in "the area." It was decided to rely on the definition of return migration which employs a rigid territorial basis rather than to rely on the idea of having lived in "the area." This avoids the problem of differential spatial perception and provides at least a minimum of comparability with other sources since most researchers use a county-based definition.

From a question asking when they last moved away from the county, it may be seen that these return migrants are not returning after a protracted period away from the area. Indeed, about 18 percent moved away no more than two years prior to their recent inmigration. Another 18 percent were away for from three to five years and about 15 percent were away from six to 10 years. Thus, slightly more than half of the return migrants are returning after only 10 or less years absence. This is hardly what we would expect given media conceptions of older people returning to their long-lost childhood homes. It is, however, the case that older persons tend to have longer durations away than younger persons. But, even among those heads of household who are 55 years of age or older, about 25 percent are return migrating within only 10 years of previously residing in their current county of residence.

Background Characteristics

A consideration of the age structures of the newcomers and return migrants is of paramount importance as a backdrop to the subsequent sections. The interest is in documenting the extent to which return migrants are older persons, nearing or past retirement, and thus seem to fit one stereotype of metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migrants. Information on household composition is displayed and one might anticipate that return migrants would tend, especially if elderly, to be in single person households or have moved in with relatives or friends. Relevant data are presented in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1. Background characteristics by migrant type

Characteristic	Migrant type	
	Return migrants	Newcomers
	— Percentage —	
Age:		
35 or younger	38	29
36-54 years	25	30
55 and older	37	41
Base N	120	365
Household composition:		
Respondent only	21	10
Respondent and spouse only	28	35
Respondent, spouse and children only	40	46
Other arrangements	11	9
Base N	122	370

The data show that return migration and age are not linked in the expected way. Return migrants are shown to have a greater proportion of younger household heads. That is, there are proportionately more older persons among newcomers than among return migrants. So, return migration to these areas cannot be characterized as a retirement-related phenomenon. If percentages are calculated in the direction of age, it is found that return migration is most likely among the young, not the old. Either way it seems that the linkage between the turnaround phenomenon, return migration, and the elderly is tenuous.

One implication of the differing age structures of the two groups is suggested by the data on household composition. Return migrant households are more likely to comprise a single individual than are newcomer households. Data not displayed here reveal that proportionately slightly more return migrants are divorced (9 percent) than are newcomers (3 percent) which may help explain the higher proportion of return migrants in single person households. That no preponderance of return migrants living with other relatives or unrelated individuals is found here may well be a function of the sampling design which would tend to miss migrant individuals moving into households occupied by long-term residents. The inmigrant would tend not to be interviewed if living in a household where some other person maintains the telephone listing. As to the total inflow, it is certain that newcomers' households are contributing relatively more to total local population growth since they tend to be living with, and have moved with, spouses and one or more children.

Origins and Destinations

As seems reasonable, return migrants have considered fewer alternative destinations as indicated by responses to a question

asking if the respondent considered moving to any other places. Among return migrants, about 20 percent considered other alternatives while 31 percent of newcomers report having considered alternative destinations. This difference, however, is somewhat misleading of the whole search behavioral picture. Of those newcomers who did consider other places, most also report that those other communities or areas were in the same county, whereas return migrants tend to have considered alternatives in other counties and, in fact, for many, another state. Overall, these results imply a considerable directedness of the move for both groups, return and nonreturn alike. Later analysis will show why this is the case.

As an approximate guide to distance moved, Table 10.2 displays locational information about the origins of the two groups. Return migrants have come from outside the region in higher proportions than have newcomers though more than half of both types moved within state. There is, then, some evidence to suggest that return migrants, perhaps because of the friction reducing effects of prior residential experience, have moved farther on the average than have the newcomers.

Table 10.2. Origin location by migrant type

Origin	Migrant type	
	Return migrants	Newcomers
	— Percentage —	
Within state	57	63
Outside state, within region	17	24
Outside region	26	13
Base N	122	3370

Data not reported show that both types of migrants come in about equal proportions from the various size categories of metropolitan places. In contrast, the types of areas the two groups move to are quite different as shown in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3. Current residence type by migrant type

Current residence	Migrant type	
	Return migrants	Newcomers
	— Percentage —	
Inside city limits	51	28
Rural-nonfarm	30	53
Rural-farm	19	19
Base N	115	357

Clearly, return migrants tend to live within the more urbanized territory of the target counties in contrast to the newcomers who tend to live outside incorporated areas. Perhaps return migrants have greater access to information on housing within towns as a result of a more extensive network of friends and relatives who might help find housing for the return migrant. Or, perhaps newcomers are forced to take what is left, meaning less centrally located housing. This difference might also reflect different needs and tastes related to the different age structures of the two groups. Information on housing and tenure suggest that return migrants tend somewhat more than newcomers to live in apartments and mobile homes. Whatever the reasons, it seems certain that return migrants tend to disproportionately affect urban growth versus growth in the countryside. Combined with our knowledge of group differences in household composition, total migrational growth in the unincorporated portions of counties seems certain to be disproportionately a function of newcomers who tend to be moving with families and who also tend to locate in open-country settings. On the basis of these data, then, we should expect the 1980 census to register important rural open-country growth which, by and large, will not be a function of return migration.

Ties to the Destination Area

By virtue of their prior residence, return migrants should have more extensive social and economic ties to their destinations prior to moving than would the newcomers. Indeed, ties are suggested to be an important factor for the migration decision-making process. Table 10.4 presents group differences on indicators of social and economic ties. The first indicator is a broad social tie dimension and is based upon responses to a question asking if the respondent knew anyone in the destination county prior to moving there. The second and third indicators are based upon questions asking the respondent if she/he owned housing or other land in the area prior to moving. The results are, at first glance, surprising. Here, the expected difference between the two migrant types in the social dimension is found again: the vast majority of both types of migrants knew someone in the area prior to migrating. Virtually all return migrants had prior acquaintances in the area of destination, but fully 70 percent of newcomers also knew someone in the area prior to moving. For return migrants, the contacts tend to be family while newcomers tend to report friends in the area.

As to the more economic forms of prior contact, return migrants have no advantage over newcomers. Both groups are about as likely to have owned a house or land in the area prior to moving there.

Data not displayed demonstrate that newcomers in many cases have vacationed in the area of destination. Sly (1974) has documented the role of prior vacation contact as an information source

Table 10.4. Ties to the area of destination by migrant type

	Migrant Type			
	Return migrants		Newcomers	
Type of ties	Percentage	Base N	Percentage	Base N
Knew someone in the area	98	122	70	369
Owned housing prior to moving	22	122	25	370
Owned other land prior to moving	19	122	16	370

Table 10.5. Migration motivation by migrant type

	Return migrants		Newcomers	
Motivation	Reasons for leaving	Reasons for choosing destination	Reasons for leaving	Reasons for choosing destination
	— Percentage —			
Employment related	24	15	25	23
Ties to destination	16	68	4	38
Environmental push	24	1	27	2
Environmental pull	11	12	15	34
Retirement	10	2	20	1
Other	15	2	9	2
Base N	122	122	369	369

for retirement migrants to Florida. It would appear, then, that vacation contact with an area, perhaps involving years of repeated visits, yields the extensive network of social ties which is usually a characteristic of return migrants. In other words, in amenity areas the concept of return migrant as demographically defined is of less utility to researchers since vacation and other recreational contact tends to yield similar contacts as prior permanent residence. On a related point, DaVanzo and Morrison (1978) find evidence to suggest that when moving again, people do tend to return migrate as a function of ties to a prior residence. Given our findings, and those of Sly (1974) and DaVanzo and Morrison (1978), coming years could see a greater capability of vacation and recreational use of an area to serve as a predictor of later inmigration.

So, in summary, one cannot assume a great difference in familiarity with the areas of destination between newcomers and return migrants. Indeed, "newcomers" is perhaps a poor term in light of the data. Perhaps amenity areas are unusual in attracting permanent residents who, over all, have had considerable contact with the area prior to a change of permanent residence.

Migration Motivations

In spite of the objective reality that the majority of newcomers and returnees have had earlier contact with their areas of destination, differences in the motivational bases for leaving the origin area and for destination selection may still be expected. One would anticipate, for example, a greater likelihood of ties being mentioned by return migrants for why they moved and why they chose their destination communities. In spite of extensive contacts for both groups, ties should be more salient as migration criteria for returnees. Newcomers whose prior contact tends to be oriented to recreational use of the area would be expected to respond that they moved because of environmental considerations. Relevant data are presented in Table 10.5.

As anticipated, ties are mentioned more frequently among return migrants as the basis for both the initial decision to leave the area of origin and as a criterion for selecting a destination. But, notice that the proportion responding "ties" is much higher for destination selection than for the initial decision to leave the area of origin. For the vast majority (even of return migrants), the desire to live closer to friends or relatives, prior residence and familiarity with the area, or property ownership do not serve as the initial impetus to move. Our data strongly suggest that social ties are not such an important *subjective* determinant of migration as might be anticipated. But, it is quite clear that ties to the area are an important factor determining the choice of destination and thus the direction of migration. A majority of return migrants (68 percent) gave a social tie-related response when asked why they chose

"this" place instead of some other. But, notice here, too, that newcomers are choosing destinations on the basis of ties to an important, though lesser, extent than returnees. Data on detailed responses (not displayed) show that among those reporting ties as a criterion for destination selection, return migrants tend to suggest prior residence and a desire to be closer to friends and relatives while newcomers cite general familiarity with the area and property ownership as specific ties.

Socio-Economic Status Changes Attending Migration

One fairly common theme in research on past rural to urban migration has been that return migration to rural areas has tended to be selective of those who "couldn't make it" in the urban economy. In the past, of course, these urban to rural migrants were counterstream migrants. Now, however, it seems that metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migration is the dominant stream affecting metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas (in the aggregate) and return migration is simply a part of a much larger phenomenon. More generally, DaVanzo and Morrison (1978) have suggested that return migration may be a corrective act when a migrant miscalculates the benefits of an initial move and relatively quickly returns to the origin location. It seems worthwhile to investigate whether return migrants and newcomers have experienced different household economic changes as a result of migration and whether there is any evidence whatsoever that returnees may have been compelled to migrate because of competitive disadvantages in the metropolitan environment. Caution is necessary though, because it is not possible to determine how the return migrants compare with nonmovers or others of metropolitan origin who moved but did not return migrate to these target areas. Thus, this section is rather speculative. As a point of departure, Table 10.6 presents employment status just before moving and at the time of the survey (1977) for household heads.

The effects of the age differences between the two types of migrants are apparent at the outset. Newcomers, who are older, tend to have a somewhat larger proportion retired than do return migrants but both groups show significant increases in the proportion retired between time of the move and the time of the survey. As a gross indication, it would seem that unemployment was not a particularly important underlying motivation for either group and we can conclude that if return migrants are "urban failures," they must be so in more subtle ways than simply being unemployed. Employment data for spouses are not presented but they suggest an important difference for those in the two groups who are married. Among married return migrants, about 47 percent of the spouses were employed full or part-time before the move and the figure falls to about 42 percent in 1977. In contrast, about 39 per-

Table 10.6. Employment status by migrant type (heads of households)

Employment status	Return migrants		Newcomers	
	Before move	1977	Before move	1977
	— Percentage —			
Employed				
Full time	65	57	67	55
Part time	6	6	3	5
Temporarily unemployed	6	3	4	2
Retired	13	28	18	35
Not employed, not looking for work	10	6	6	3
Base N	122	122	370	370

cent of newcomers' spouses were employed before the move, falling to about 23 percent in 1977. So, married female labor force participation tends to be more common among return migrants. It may be the case that these employed wives are making up for occupation-related income differences between return and nonreturn migrants. Income distributions are presented in Table 10.7.

Even with higher female labor force participation rates among spouses, and a higher overall proportion in the labor force in both time periods, return migrants have slightly lower total household incomes than newcomers. Thus, there is at least indirect evidence to suggest that many of the employed return migrants are in rather poor paying jobs and were also in relatively poorly paid jobs in their origin. Occupational change data (not displayed) show that the two groups are very similar in the prestige changes accompanying the migration, though, and it would appear that return migrants have not made moves which provide more income, prestige, etc. Most of the income change in Table 10.7, then, is probably a result of retirement. There are also no major differences between return migrants and newcomers on proportions employed in white collar occupations either before or after moving. It seems, then, that the reason for the income difference between returnees and newcomers has not been found. Fortunately, that difference is small and overall there is little evidence to support a view of returnees as "urban failures."

There may yet be another factor related to the return migration phenomenon which may shed light on the economic aspects of the move. Return migrants may be consciously moving to less expensive areas to reduce their costs of living and thus make their limited incomes go farther. This hypothesis receives some support from answers to a question asking respondents where they think it costs more to live, in the new residence or in the old metropolitan location. Among return migrants, 51 percent said it cost more to live in the metropolitan area, while among newcomers, 40 percent said it cost more to live in the old area of residence. Although it is not possible to be certain, given the research design, there is at least some evidence to suggest that return migrants may have consciously done so to reduce their costs of living.

Selected Issues

Group differences on a variety of indicators could be investigated and some of the most important structural measures have been discussed. In this last section we will examine group differences on a few of the more social-psychological measures, and particularly the migrants' responses to questions about taxation and development strategies are discussed briefly.

On the average return migrants tend more than newcomers to favor tax increases for virtually all of the purposes inquired about: aid to senior citizens, roads, police protection, improved medical facilities, parks and playgrounds, and schools. This seems to reflect the age difference between the groups, as it will be remembered that young persons are more likely than older persons to favor tax increases (Chapter 6) and return migrants tend to be younger than newcomers.

Neither newcomers nor return migrants are a relatively greater source of conservatism in regard to local development strategies. No differences were found between return and nonreturn migrants in the proportion wanting to keep out new factories, not wanting to attract new residents or not wanting to promote tourism. Return migrants do, however, tend to behave in their own self interest as they show a somewhat higher proportion wanting to develop the local business district.

On a great variety of other attitudinal items, what differences were found between the groups could usually be traced to other factors, especially age. For instance, return migrants over all are slightly more likely to expect to move in the next few years, but this is probably a function of their younger average age.

Summary and Discussion

In summary, return migrants are not all that different from newcomers in many important dimensions. The most striking, and certainly not surprising, difference between newcomers and returnees is that when it comes to destination selection, friends and family and prior residence are particularly salient in return migrants' motivations. The most striking similarity between the two types of migrants is that a majority of newcomers and return migrants had some source of information prior to immigrating. Thus, returnees tend to express that such ties were important to the migration but both types possessed ties to an important degree. Perhaps the ties of those who have lived in the area before are of higher "quality." Regardless, this is an important topic for future research.

Chapter 11

THE NEW MIGRATION: ORIGINS, IMPACTS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Andrew J. Sofranko and Frederick C. Fliegel

Initial reactions to the evidence for a reversal of historic migration patterns reflected skepticism. Was the reversal really a new trend, and if it was, did it stem from emergence of a new cultural predisposition or were the explanations of migratory behavior invoked in the past still largely valid? Various analyses, usually of secondary data, have firmly established both the existence and persistence of the initial trend which Beale (1975) identified, and various attempts to explain away the phenomenon have led to the conclusion that it is real, continuing, and not a statistical artifact.

Once the trend was confirmed as real, a host of secondary concerns gained prominence. Who are the migrants; why are they moving at all, and why at this particular time; what impact are they having or will they have; are they going to stay; and, most importantly, will the trend continue and, if so, what factors will moderate it or speed it up? Answers to a few of the listed questions emerged from examinations of data on counties and other political units that were gaining or losing population and from looking at the characteristics of migrants as reported by the Bureau of the Census. Most of the questions, however, could not be addressed by analyzing county data on aggregates of people and resources. A spate of location-specific surveys of recent migrants followed, and these have in many ways supported the inferences made from secondary data about the detailed characteristics of migrants in the new stream and their reasons for leaving metropolitan areas. The location-specific surveys, however, could only provide snapshots of particular situations. There was thus a need for primary survey data which looked at the trend broadly and which was in fact designed to answer many of the questions being raised about the nature of the trend as well as its potential impact.

The data on which the present document is based have been invaluable in addressing many of the issues associated with the new migration, issues which could not have been pursued much further with secondary data or small surveys. This research has established for a large region of the nation why recent migrants from metropolitan areas moved and why they have relocated in particular destinations. It also has established who the migrants are and how they differ from residents of the areas, and the types of places they are coming from and settling in. Migrants' adjustment problems and expectations for moving or remaining in their

present residences have been examined and discussed, and we have looked at some of the consequences of the move for migrant households and for nonmetropolitan areas.

This chapter attempts to highlight some of the main findings from the survey and to go beyond the data with some speculations about the years ahead by integrating the findings with some of the prevailing ideas about the underlying causal factors contributing to the new migration. At the same time there is a concern for pointing out some of the considerations which necessarily have to be addressed in discussions regarding the continuation of the trend and its longer-run consequences. Levy (1966) pointed out several years ago that the prerequisites for a trend-change are not necessarily identical with the requisites for its continuation. Some contributing factors may continue to have an impact, others may not, and the presumed contributing factors themselves may well change over time. In any case, an attempt is made in each of the following sections to raise some questions about the future and to match those future-oriented questions with some suggestions for needed research.

The new migration is already distinctive with respect to the number of research efforts which have been mounted to monitor and understand the trend. Population movements are of such fundamental importance to a host of societal issues, however, that even more sharply focused studies must be launched to permit rational planning for the future. Thus, as was stated above, each of the following sections attempts to highlight what is known about the new migration now, raise some questions about its continuation, and point up some of the gaps in existing knowledge. This is done in full knowledge that even speculation about the future, to say nothing of prediction, is fraught with problems. Statements based on hindsight are certainly safer but may also be irrelevant to the research plans for tomorrow which, of course, must be made today.

The Quest for Amenities

Many questions at the core of the turnaround phenomenon have been centered on the reasons for metropolitan origin migrants' leaving large metropolitan areas and on whether at the present time they represent a unique phenomenon. We have carefully documented the importance of quality of life concerns in the decisions of these migrants who are moving into the fast-growing nonmetropolitan areas of the region. It has been shown in various ways that their motivations are based largely on considerations other than employment, and in that respect their reason structure is quite different from that of past migrants and from another current migration stream — nonmetropolitan to nonmetropolitan movers. The concerns of nonmetropolitan origin migrants are much more with employment opportunities, many of which we and others suggest are being generated by the influx of metropolitan origin

migrants. It also has been shown that metropolitan origin migrants' specific location choices were heavily influenced by considerations other than employment, and particularly by ties migrants had in the areas in which they relocated plus a host of rural amenities. Quite simply, metropolitan origin migrants are going to places where they either had lived, had friends and relatives, had vacationed or owned property, or which embodied the types of amenities they were seeking. And for most of the metropolitan origin migrants these destinations turned out to be in and around small towns and villages, most often in open-country areas. Thus, in most relevant ways the survey data have established that the new migration is truly a drift from large metropolitan centers to more rural places and areas, and it is being generated to a substantial extent by various environmental or quality-of-life concerns on the part of migrants.

The data on motivations are explicit in pointing out the importance of place amenities in migrants' decisions, but this still does not explain all of the recent reversal. A sizeable portion of the metropolitan origin migrants has moved for employment reasons, and most of those of working age who moved for reasons other than employment experienced no lasting disruption in their work lives, no sharp income declines, and no consequential downward occupational mobility. Even for the amenity migrants, employment opportunities, while perhaps not the stated cause for the move, are probably still important. If nothing else, the availability of jobs may have lowered the barriers to mobility among many metropolitan origin migrants. It is as Beale (1976) suggests, probably a matter of economics **and** attitudes. We might add only that on the basis of our data it is probably **more** a matter of attitudes than economics, and this is what the new migration is reputed to be.

Amenity seeking: impacts and prospects

The metropolitan origin migrants' pronounced quality-of-life orientation and their preference for locating in the more rural places in their destinations lead to the inevitable question of whether they also are likely to exhibit a perspective opposed to future population growth and/or economic development of their destination areas. Fears that they currently are opposed to development are allayed by the present data which show that there is a widespread consensus among metropolitan origin migrants in favor of further growth and development and a general agreement over the means for promoting development. So far, at least, there has been a positive outlook toward the population growth which has taken place in their areas, and they articulate a pro-development stance with regard to the future. Their orientations on the growth issues and economic development alternatives are fairly close to those of long-term residents of the same areas as well.

These data should not be interpreted as a disconfirmation of what others have found in specific case studies, where newcomers

were shown to be protective of their seclusion, their location and physical environment, and where they have been shown to have strong desire to control changes that might occur in the rural community (Graeber, 1974;512). These data can say very little about the impact of migrants in any particular locality or on a particular public issue. In some localities which have been experiencing considerable growth for some time, the problems generated by the new migration may be real. Nor should the data be interpreted to imply that future metropolitan origin migrants, or long-term residents, will be as receptive to growth and development of their areas in the years ahead as is the case now. Migrants' and residents' perspectives may change dramatically after some of the unused capacity of rural areas is exhausted. More broadly stated, the attractiveness of a given location may deteriorate, both in an absolute sense or in comparison with some other place, as time passes and population growth continues (Shaw, 1975;109).

To the extent that a quest for amenities can be viewed as an underlying causal factor in the new migration, a highly important research need involves the more detailed specification of what "amenities" mean to potential migrants and a monitoring of the migration process over time to determine where and to what extent the quest for amenities is satisfied. There are two types of issues involved in the above, broad statement of research needs. First, it is not known whether currently valued amenities can continue to be found in a given place as the migratory process continues. It is plausible to assume that rural areas which have lost population for decades have "unused capacity," but there is simply no data to back up that assumption. Nor is there any way of establishing an area's potential for easily absorbing population growth. This analysis documented a preference for open-country living among metropolitan origin migrants, plus a positive attitude toward further population growth and development. This raises a question though about the point at which pressure on a local service network becomes problematic.

A second issue, implied in the above discussion, involves the question of specifying "place amenities" over time from the potential migrant's perspective. To illustrate, can one assume that "the good life" as envisioned by a family newly formed in, say, 1980, will be the same or even similar to that which is currently being realized by a family formed in 1965? One simply doesn't know, and the implications of that type of question for the future of the trend are quite substantial.

Another major research need under the heading of "amenity seeking" is the precise relationship between the quest for amenities and employment. It seems plausible, again, to assume that an influx of amenity seeking migrants stimulates economic activity and creates jobs which serve to attract additional migrants. The nonmetropolitan origin migrants, who tended to give job reasons for moving, may have been attracted by the economic stimulus

of an influx of amenity seeking metropolitan migrants, but that cannot be established as fact with the data at hand. Establishing this connection should be given a high priority in future research because such knowledge could go a long way toward predicting the amount and nature of future population growth in areas such as those which have been studied.

Flight From the City

If the quest for amenities can be treated as an underlying "pull" factor in the new migration, then a related "push" factor can be characterized as "flight from the city." These are not necessarily opposite sides of the same coin. In the absence, however, of more rigorous definitions of rural amenities (or the "problems of urban life") there is a tendency to characterize urban push and rural pull factors as polar opposites. Some of the overtones of that kind of characterization have come out in the analytic distinctions we found we were forced to make between reasons for leaving a place and reasons for choosing a destination. The reasons given by the respondents did not, in fact, fit neatly into polar opposite types of categories.

Problems of defining precise meanings aside, few of the hypotheses invoked to explain the new migration have received as much attention as those based on the presumed reaction of migrants to the problems associated with urban life. In fact, it is argued that continuation of the trend may lie as much in the increased dissatisfaction with urban areas as in the increased attractiveness of rural areas (Beale, 1976). This research has been able to portion out environmental influences into urban push and rural pull and it was found that the former were much more important as stimuli in the decision to leave metropolitan areas. One would thus have to conclude that perhaps a major clue as to the origin, as well as the continuation, of the trend lies with conditions in large metropolitan areas, particularly those conditions contributing to their decreased attractiveness. As long as urban dissatisfaction exists, or if it increases, a huge pool of potential migrants will exist. Still, as has been suggested above, the precise causal role of particular urban "push" factors has not yet been specified. Apparently urban dissatisfaction is not a newly discovered fact of urban living (Fischer, 1975). Yet, at this particular time dissatisfaction is being translated into rural moves by substantial numbers of households, suggesting that perhaps more than simply urban dissatisfaction may be involved in the trend. Whatever the reason, the perceived problems of urban areas are not likely to abate soon, and unfavorable media coverage of city problems and favorable coverage of rural life will provide underlying support for future moves to more rural residences (Roseman, 1977).

Urban flight: Consequences and research needs

The population reversal has raised countless impact questions, but to date all of the research has focused on the consequences of the trend on rural areas. Yet, the trend will undoubtedly have an impact on places of origin as well as on those remaining in metropolitan areas. It should not be concluded prematurely, however, that some depopulation of metropolitan areas will have only negative consequences, if there are any consequences at all. It is anticipated that if the trend continues, it will ultimately affect urban wages as well as the costs of services for those left behind (Chalmers and Greenwood, 1977). However, in much the same way that the fast growing nonmetropolitan areas are being viewed from the perspective of "ruination versus renaissance," urban places too may benefit, especially if the trend precipitates many of the reforms recommended for the revival of metropolitan areas. Reducing the population of metropolitan areas may ease some of the stress now placed on urban service systems and stimulate efforts to redevelop some areas. Some have pointed out that the new migrations may provide a "new chance for the cities" (Nadler, 1975).

The metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan shift should not be viewed independently of the suburban shift. It is not likely that the flight of metropolitan residents to nonmetropolitan areas is having a greater effect on urban places than the suburbanization trend has had or will have in the future. Currently, little is known about how the two trends are related.

Very little is actually known about the aspects of the urban environment with which migrants are presumed to be dissatisfied. This examination of migrants' retrospective assessments of their dissatisfaction has failed to turn up any widespread and common dislikes among the metropolitan origin migrants for the places they left. In fact, considered alone, the satisfaction-dissatisfaction data suggest that the new migration may be less a function of the diminished attractiveness of urban areas than is widely assumed. It has been seen that many migrants were indeed dissatisfied, and especially those moving for what have been identified as environmental push reasons, but this amounts to no more than a fourth of the migrants. One would have to conclude on the basis of this evidence that the new migration is being fueled by more than a general dissatisfaction with urban life.

Many questions are being raised about the role of push factors in the residential search process and in actual migration itself. Speare (1974) suggests that dissatisfaction is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for moving, as has been reasoned earlier. There is an even more fundamental question, however, regarding the measurement of community satisfaction. Rather than general urban dissatisfaction, what may be more important from a potential migrant's perspective is the growing dissatisfaction generated by changes in particular neighborhoods, changes in the amenities offered in a specific residential location, and perhaps even changes in

the standards used to evaluate urban place amenities. All of this is simply to suggest that much more than general urban dissatisfaction may be involved in migrants' decisions. It may also argue that broadsided attempts to improve urban areas may do little to stem the outflow to rural or suburban areas, especially if migrants are not responding to urban conditions in general.

To highlight some of the research needs mentioned above, it may be useful to repeat that it might be as important to understand precisely the effects of the new migration on metropolitan places of origin as it is to understand how nonmetropolitan areas are being altered. It is known, for example, that many center city portions of older industrial metropolitan areas are changing demographically, becoming more black, older, and less populated. Those moving out are generally younger, white, and of higher socioeconomic status. But a disproportionate number of migrants out of center cities are simply moving further out into adjoining suburbs and nearby towns within commuting distance of cities. Thus, one should not infer that changes which center city areas are undergoing are the result of urban-to-rural migration, although some unknown portion of the impact is. One of the more pressing research needs is for an examination of how urban places are being affected by these parallel trends and for determining how the shift to rural residences differs from the suburbanization trend. How, for example, do metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migrants differ from migrants simply moving to "the suburbs"? What factors might tilt the balance more toward migration to rural areas than to suburban locations? White's (1978) research on the trend toward "no-growth zoning" in suburbs suggests that, if widespread, it may restrict movement into some of the more preferred suburban residential locations. What effects will this or other policy possibilities have in attracting the flow of voluntary migrants to preferred types of destinations? (cf. Morrison, 1970; Dillman and Dobash, 1972).

Along similar lines, several suggestions have been made regarding the possible linkage between the energy issue and migration. Although the tone of much of the writing is that energy shortages and higher energy costs will place urban areas in a better competitive situation *vis a vis* rural areas, there is no compelling reason for arguing at the present time that an "energy problem" should result in less migration to nonmetropolitan areas. Higher commuting and travel costs in urban areas also are to be expected and may be viewed by potential migrants as one more disadvantage of urban life. In addition, many of the amenities formerly associated with urban living may come to be viewed as costly and relatively inaccessible. Rural areas, in contrast, may be viewed more positively by potential migrants in terms of alternative sources of energy: sunlight, wood, and coal. It has been argued that higher energy costs and particularly higher prices for gasoline are likely to discourage travel and thus rural living, which has been shown to involve traveling greater distances for employment, shopping,

services, recreation, and so on. But whether individuals' migration decisions are any more responsive to gasoline prices than their current driving habits seems to be questionable.

Many questions have been raised about how urban dissatisfaction relates to eventual outmigration. Considerably more research is needed before one can begin to attribute the new migration to urban decay or argue that urban revitalization will slow outmigration. Apparently the preference for a smaller-scale living environment and antipathy toward large urban areas is deeply rooted among urban dwellers. But relatively few of those who are potential migrants leave cities for rural areas, suggesting either that many are willing to live with their dissatisfaction or that dissatisfaction may be no more than an acceptable response to researchers' queries regarding city life. To what extent are either of these hypotheses true? How long must dissatisfaction exist and at what level of intensity before it precipitates a residential search? And what differentiates a rural search from a suburban search? Very little is known about these processes.

Finally, nothing is known of how the changing composition of the city will ultimately affect the new migration insofar as the populations at risk are changing. Little urban-to-rural migration has been documented among Blacks, except for return migration to the South, and migration rates are especially low among the elderly. But with improved socioeconomic status among Blacks, will they become a part of the trend in the Midwest, for example, or will their increased presence and numerical dominance in urban centers slow the trend down? What effect will the presence of the elderly in urban areas have on the trend? What changes in rural areas will make them more attractive to both older and Black migrants? These and many other questions must be explored if the new migration is to be understood and planned for in both places of origin and destination.

Societal Affluence and the New Migration

The relative affluence of the American public over the past decades has been singled out as one of the underlying structural supports behind the current reversal, and it has been argued that as affluence increases, a new emphasis on quality of life as opposed to basic economic considerations seems to assume greater importance (Goldstein, 1976) in peoples' decisions. The decisions to leave metropolitan areas are apparently examples of the renewed emphasis on quality of life factors.

The first suggestions that affluence might be a precipitating influence for the new trend were based on observations that the reversal was centered in destination areas presumed to be scenically attractive, sparsely populated, and predominantly rural, in other words areas in which there were no apparent employment or economic advantages to moving. This image was reinforced by ac-

counts of highly successful urbanites taking up residence in remote rural areas, changing life styles, and espousing new values. The general tone of much of this writing was that the higher incomes and wealth among the American public both effected a change in the preference structure of a large number of urban dwellers and provided the economic security which made it possible for them to move to a more rural destination. Unlike the pattern in the past, now they were giving equal or greater importance to considerations other than employment in determining what was for them a desirable place in which to live.

General affluence has been one of the "givens" in the new migration, accepted as one of the critical prerequisites and requisites of the trend. Financial freedom, it is argued, permits people to act out their preferences. Earlier retirement, wider coverage by retirement benefits, higher pensions, and public assistance have all contributed to a "free-floating" population with considerably more freedom in locating where it chooses (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976). Little thought has been given to determining whether overall affluence is *actually* influencing the trend and, second, if it is, in what specific ways?

From the present data it is not at all clear what role general affluence may have played in the new migration. In fact, given the comparisons of the sample of metropolitan origin migrants and residents, versus the comparisons of the nonmetropolitan origin migrants and residents, one could as easily argue, as others have, that the trend may be more a necessity-based than an affluence-based migration. If this is the case, it does raise many questions, both about the continuation of the trend and the economic burden it may represent for nonmetropolitan areas.

Affluence and migration: implications for the future and research needs

If affluence is indeed one of the underlying "causes" of the new migration, the current high rate of inflation may well be one of the unknown factors which figure prominently in its continuation or demise. There is very little hard evidence that inflation or the resulting lower level of living will become an important factor, and few clues as to how the current trend would be altered, if it did. There is much more current evidence that inflation may be with us for some time. It is conceivable that quality of life concerns will diminish in importance in a period of economic adversity, especially if that adversity is more than a brief episode. Employment, wherever it is found, may assume greater importance in decisions of potential metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants than seen in the data. A host of place utility considerations such as those associated with environmental quality and the recreational features of a destination may become lower-level concerns. This is not to argue that economic adversity will act only as a barrier to future

mobility, although it might. It is simply to suggest that there may be considerably less labor mobility than at present and what there is may place more importance on employment and wages than on amenities. In some ways the nonmetropolitan origin migrant sample reflects this orientation.

To the extent that employment considerations become more important in future migration decisions, and even with respect to the current situation, it is not now known whether economic opportunities in nonmetropolitan areas will increase fast enough to sustain large influxes of population over time (Stanford Research Institute, 1975). If, on the other hand, factors other than jobs are generating a freedom of movement, we should establish precisely what these factors are and in what specific ways they operate in migrants' decision making. Furthermore, there should be some attempt to determine to what extent freedom of movement is balanced off by freedom of choice in selecting destinations. To get a better understanding of why people are leaving metropolitan areas for nonmetropolitan locations, much more attention will have to be given to how migration decisions are reached: the situational factors precipitating the move, with particular attention to change-in-status factors; options which migrants have considered; their perceptions of what nonmetropolitan destinations are like; their reasons for choosing one rural destination over another and for selecting a nonmetropolitan location over a different urban residence; and the constraints which affect relocation decisions (Quigley and Weinberg, 1977).

Inflation and higher costs of living have the potential for altering residential mobility in more subtle ways as well as directly via jobs. It has been seen, for example, that for many of the migrants the migration decision was heavily influenced by familiarity with and ties they had in the areas where they located. These ties, in some cases, consisted of owning property and second homes, some of them probably purchased for retirement and vacation reasons (research is needed to clarify this point). It was found, in addition, that a sizeable number of the migrants had vacationed in the areas to which they eventually moved. The important questions now are how important ties were to the location decision and what would happen should many of these types of ties become less likely to be developed in some future period. In the event that inflation becomes an even more serious problem, it may well have the effect of discouraging many pre-retirement and second-home or vacation investments in rural areas, and perhaps in the long-run reduce these types of ties between urban residents and rural areas. The point here is that if the affluence of recent decades is regarded as one of the major stimuli for the trend in the 1970s, it is entirely conceivable that the unusually high rate of inflation — and the resulting reduced level of living — now going on have been covertly eroding the continuation of the trend through the decade of the 1980s.

Table 10.7. Household income by migrant type

Income ($'s)	Return migrants		Newcomers	
	Before move	1976	Before move	1976
	— Percentage —			
5,000 or less	18	26	13	20
5,001 to 10,000	29	29	23	27
10,001 to 15,000	38	22	29	24
15,001 to 20,000	10	15	19	13
More than 20,000	5	8	16	16
Base N	111	116	320	330

There are, of course, forces working in the opposite direction which could promote more metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migration in a period of adversity. For years urban residents have entertained the notion that the cost of living was lower in rural than in urban areas, and perhaps potential migrants will act on the basis of these perceptions. In these data, however, recent migrants don't feel that rural areas are that different from the places from which they came. Taxes are felt to be lower, although the cost-of-living is not necessarily perceived as being lower, but it is the pre-move perception which may be crucial in any case. Moreover, employment expansion in nonmetropolitan areas may continue at a higher rate than in metropolitan areas (Hansen, 1975) and thus continue to attract a number of migrants from metropolitan locations. Thus, the lure of cheaper living and employment may continue to operate among many potential metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants. This is clearly a situation that calls for monitoring of the migration process over time plus some more basic research on the relationship between the new migration and the general state of the economy.

Finally, there is the question of whether, and to what extent, the new migration may be characterized by "distress" movers rather than by affluence. This question is closely tied to the issue of whether the population reversal is likely to represent an economic burden for nonmetropolitan areas. The media have routinely focused on the middle class, elitist, and renaissance aspects of the trend, while community and local government officials express concern that a large portion of the inmigrant stream consists of persons and households who are moving to rural areas out of necessity and who might become an economic liability in their new locations. In this latter context migrants are often portrayed as being older, lower income, unemployed or underemployed, in marginal occupations, or in single-parent households. The implication of this perspective is that nonmetropolitan areas are serving as a haven for the least successful urban residents and that the stream represents a type of "necessity" migration.

We have no data on residents in those metropolitan areas from which the sample migrants came, and thus have no basis for arguing that the metropolitan origin migrants are or are not different from comparable metropolitan residents. It was suggested earlier that occupationally and economically the metropolitan origin migrants were probably lower income, on average, than metropolitan residents as a whole. However, another way of looking at the data is in terms of how immigrants differ from rural residents on various dependence measures. It was found in this context that the metropolitan origin migrants may be of lower socioeconomic levels compared, broadly, to metropolitan residents, but they are higher than the sample of nonmetropolitan residents. In addition, it was pointed out earlier in the text with regard to the other presumed liabilities of the inmigrants that either there were misconceptions about the inmigrants or they were no different from the residents.

Using the resident group as a base for comparison, it was pointed out that the migrants do not turn up as unemployed, employed disproportionately in lower blue-collar occupations, or as living in single-parent households. Thus, there is little basis for concluding that the migrants represent an additional economic burden. Explicit comparisons between migrants and the metropolitan population which does not migrate should receive a high priority in future research, however.

The Graying of Rural America

Roseman (1977) has suggested that although the reversal is not limited to one type of mover or region, the improved financial ability of the elderly, earlier retirement, the upward shift in age structure of our population, and the high numbers of elderly Americans in large urban areas (many with former residence in rural areas), will provide a large population at risk in urban areas.

The elderly are undoubtedly one of the more important segments of the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan flow in the Midwest, as was pointed out in the text, but still elderly migrants account for a minority of all such migrants. It is not likely that elderly migrants alone, even if their numbers were to increase over the next several decades, could maintain the momentum of the trend. The elderly are, first of all, the least mobile age group, and like most others they are responsive to other societal changes, some of which have the potential for affecting their propensities to migrate. Economic necessity may well force more of the elderly into later retirement.

Graying: the future of the new migration and research needs

In a period of high inflation, an eroded financial posture may force more of the elderly who are inclined toward moving into considering employment opportunities — full or part-time — and living costs in destinations, and it may force many would-be migrants into a reconsideration of moving in light of the costs associated with moving. There is little doubt that inflation's impact, if any, will be most acutely felt by the relatively fixed-income elderly segment of the population. A host of other changes in urban areas may have similar impacts on migration rates of urban elderly. Given the uncertainty over how the elderly will be affected by current economic trends or changing urban social conditions, one can sketch alternative migration responses by the elderly, ranging from a reduced inclination to move anywhere, to a heightened attachment to urban areas, to a greater desire to flee urban areas. It is by no means certain that retirements will be associated with moving to the extent they are currently or that elderly migrants will choose destinations for the same reasons they are now selecting them.

Some of these relationships can be clarified with further research on the motivations of migrants and on the factors or changes which make them more or less attached to urban places. This is clearly an area of research in which migrants as well as people who do not migrate ought to be studied to determine which barriers restrict migration and which may promote it.

Another research need worth pointing out is that elderly migrants are a component of the stream on which we have little insight into decision making. Their stated reason for migrating — "retirement" — raises more questions than it answers. Not all left metropolitan areas at the moment of retirement, although some did. In addition they could have moved to suburban or urban fringe areas, to other urban areas, or remained where they were. Most older migrants claimed they moved because they "retired." Although it may be an accurate and acceptable reason for migrating, it is hardly an "insightful" reason. Many retirees don't migrate.

There is also need for much more research among recent elderly migrants. It was found, for example, that they have opted for residences in the more rural locations outside incorporated places. It is not known yet whether this settlement pattern is influenced largely by economic factors, by affinity with the areas, or by the social networks which existed prior to the move. Nor is it known what the consequences will be of these settlement patterns for agencies and units of local government charged with providing services to the elderly or what the consequences are for the adjustment and integration of older migrants in their new settings. We also have not determined whether settlement patterns will have any effect on subsequent mobility. Before one can obtain a fuller understanding of elderly migrants' experiences in rural destination much more attention will have to be given specifically to elderly migrants.

Going "Back Home"

Still another of the assorted factors or forces which has received considerable attention in discussions of the new migration is the general notion of "going back" to something, either literally or figuratively. This general theme has been noted in the analyses in three somewhat related ways. First, and most obviously, attention was focused on those metropolitan-origin migrants who have literally moved back to a former area of residence (Chapter 10). Second, attention was given to the social ties migrants have built up in the area to which they migrated at some time prior to migration, most often in the context of vacations and, more generally, travel. And, third, note was made of a small subset of what might be called symbolic returnees, migrants from metropolitan areas who have settled on farms, some with prior farming experience and some without, at least some of whom might be characterized as "returning" to a way of life which they have never directly experienced in the past.

Several analyses clearly document the importance of "going back" as a factor in the new migration, though whether much explanatory power can be derived from the theme is less clear. One-fourth of our metro-origin migrants had lived in the county of current residence at some time in the past. This is certainly an important segment of the metropolitan-to-nonmetroplitan migration stream. It should be made clear that these returnees were not necessarily going "back home" because they were not questioned about the subjective definition of "home." Many of the returnees probably were going back to the only home they had known in the past because, as noted, the returnees tended to be younger than the newcomer migrants.

Social ties in the area of destination as a byproduct of recreational pursuits, as distinct from prior residence in the destination area, also figured prominantly in our efforts to explore reasons for choosing the new residence. Both social ties and prior residence are most useful in helping to understand why one destination was chosen over another, rather than why migration out of a metropolitan area took place at all, however, as was noted earlier (especially in Chapter 10). Many metropolitan residents have lived in an assortment of places and have visited still other places and choose not to migrate. They don't go back, that is.

It is only in a more symbolic sense that "going back" to something can be meaningfully invoked as a factor underlying the new migration in a general sense. The few metropolitan origin migrants who have chosen to go into farming are of interest in this context, but they represent a very small fraction of the total stream. They are of interest because they have chosen a distinctively rural occupation, one not limited to the particular destination area they chose. More broadly, the often-mentioned appeal of a "simpler way of life," cheaper living costs in the present era of increasing costs, the rural area as a good place to raise children, contain romantic or perhaps better, nostalgic, overtones of a desire to return to something which may only have been experienced vicariously by the migrants themselves, perhaps through reading or television.

Precisely because of the vagueness of what we are here calling a symbolic or figurative "going back," we cannot, at this point, assess the merits of a return theme as a factor underlying the new migration in a general sense. Prior residence and social ties do serve to account for the choice of one destination rather than another, but more research will be needed to fit the "going back" theme into an explanation of the new migration as such.

Going back: some thoughts about the future and some questions

Present data do not permit pinpointing the extent to which metropolitan origin migrants to nonmetropolitan areas may have experienced a small town or rural way of life to which they might

wish to return. It would seem plausible to argue that migrants who have had a favorable experience of small town life might wish to have more of that type of life without necessarily returning to a particular small town. More broadly stated, there is unquestionably a large pool of current urban residents with some amount of prior rural or small town background who might be attracted to almost any rural area, irrespective of prior direct contact with or social ties in that area. The data are lacking on life experiences in former places of residence which might be perceived by potential migrants as worth reconstructing in a new location. Such data might help to specify the causes underlying the new migration.

To the extent that the appeal of going back to a former way of life may fuel the new migration there is, as noted previously, a large pool of urban residents to whom the appeal might be meaningful. From that perspective one would expect the new migration to continue and perhaps gain in force. By the same token, just as off-farm migration has declined in importance as the number of farms declined, there is a definite limit to the pool of urban residents with rural backgrounds. The cities are not attracting new residents from the countryside at the rate experienced some years ago. This suggests a continuing need to monitor the migration process and a need for other studies as well. To what extent are the urban born and bred appealed to by a rural way of life? The question is broad, and thus should be tied to an earlier suggestion for a clearer specification of what is meant by rural amenities. The meanings attached to such expressions as "way of life" or "quality of life" are not necessarily widely shared, and greater specificity is essential before further research is undertaken. The general point is that the "pull" of rural areas is still not very precisely understood.

At a somewhat less abstract level, it might also be mentioned that the significance of social ties in destination choices calls for continued monitoring. What are the vacation patterns of today's urban youth? Do they suggest a continuation of their parents' ties with certain potential destination areas or would one expect shifts in regional preferences as a function of vacation ties being developed now? There is no way of answering such questions except by monitoring the migration process.

Urbanization of the Hinterland

We have suggested several forces and structural changes which provide us with at least partial explanations for the origin of the new migration, and some suggestions have been made about future conditions which may have a bearing on the trend's continuation. Actually trying to establish which of the several suggested factors is instrumental in either producing or promoting the new migration is likely to be an elusive goal. And, perhaps, the goal is not worth pursuing. Schwarzweller (1987:10) suggests that rather than

"traverse some tortuous paths of scholarship" for which there are few if any guidelines, "in speculating about conditions that have facilitated the current population reversal, economic trends and comparative circumstances between rural and urban sectors are among the more important factors to consider." Quite simply, the trend may reflect the improvements in the levels of goods and services available throughout the nation, not only in cosmopolitan centers, as was the case in the past.

It is widely felt that the "urbanization of rural territory" is perhaps the necessary change which underlies the reversal in many rural areas of the nation. This perspective has been articulated in various ways, by researchers and the media alike. Beale has suggested, for example, that the reversal is largely because the gap between urban and rural quality of life has decreased (Beale, 1976). Hawley (1975) states that there has been a territorial expansion of urban institutions and an increased interdependence of all settlements, and Wardwell (1977) feels that there has been a separation of urban growth from urban places and over time a gradual integration of rural areas into a national urban system. In somewhat more prosaic terms, the media have suggested that there has been an expansion of the area in which urban people can live (Time, 1976). This perspective reflecting the increasing homogenization of American society has appeared under various guises, ranging from critical discussions of the continued use of the rural-urban dichotomy in explaining cultural and behavioral differences, to analyses demonstrating an emerging homogeneity between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas (Glenn and Hill, 1977), to suggestions that the nation is becoming a mass society. The causes underlying these trends are not at issue here. All that is being suggested is that there is widespread speculation about the reduction in differences which formerly existed between urban and rural areas and about the role this increased comparability has played in the new migration.

There is no direct evidence in the research to argue that rural and urban areas are alike or are becoming more comparable. There is, however, data which may suggest that at least in the eyes of many migrants the two residential settings may not be very different. Most of the questions we draw on for evidence were not designed to elicit migrants' comparisons of rural and urban residences in a general sense, but insofar as they are evaluations of particular prior urban residences with particular current rural residences, they provide, in aggregate form, some evidence for discussing urban-rural comparability.

We were especially intrigued by migrants' responses to several questions which, either explicitly or implicitly, reflect on the differences between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan living. First, very few migrants reported adjustment difficulties when they moved to the current residence, even when controlling on prior residence in the area. This finding was certainly at variance with the

substantial research literature on adjustment difficulties of those moving from rural to urban residences, often from the farm to the city. It was felt that migrants would have experienced more problems than they have, especially since the disjuncture between prior and current residence is great in terms of population size. Admittedly, there are alternative explanations for the failure to uncover extensive adjustment difficulties, but it is at least worth considering the possibility that urban and rural residences are somewhat comparable.

The second set of data which we might draw on is the quality of life items referring to attributes in the current residence compared with the same attributes of the former residence. Migrants were specifically asked to indicate whether particular attributes were better or worse in the present residence than in the former residence or whether they were about the same. In the chapter which focused on this material there was a tendency to emphasize the proportions reporting that the present place of residence was better or worse. If one were to concentrate instead on the proportions reporting no difference, i.e., the residences were the same, it could be seen that on several of the attributes a sizeable portion (20 percent to 30 percent) reports that conditions are the same. In addition, one can look at the portions reporting satisfaction with various aspects of the present and prior places of residence for further evidence of residential comparability. It was reported earlier that satisfaction with the prior residence was quite high, with three-fourths or more of the metropolitan origin migrants satisfied with all dimensions of the community for which assessments were asked (the single exception being taxes in the prior residence). Satisfaction also is quite high in the present residence. From the migrants' perspective, at least, it does not appear that they view the two residences as being in stark contrast to one another.

There is no attempt to diminish the importance migrants attached to place differences. Many left metropolitan areas because they felt the areas were unattractive in a variety of respects; many left because they were attracted by the amenities of rural places; and many reported the new residences were different — better and worse — than the former areas from which they came, but as was noted earlier, the pros and cons did not reflect substantial consensus on particular place characteristics. We are simply trying to point out that on the basis of their responses, rural and urban residences are not as contrasting, in any monolithic sense, as one might have expected if one assumed migrants were leaving metropolitan areas for a vastly different way of life than they experienced in these areas. The absence of any pronounced difficulties on the part of migrants who are moving to nonmetropolitan areas, and the similar perspectives with which many migrants and residents view their residences, may illustrate what others have alluded to about the increased compatibility of urban and rural living in the nation.

Finally, another subset of the data also speaks to the general idea that rural-urban differences have diminished and that this fact may underlie the new migration. The sample of migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas tended to cite job reasons for moving. It was noted that in a variety of respects the nonmetropolitan origin migrants perhaps fit the basically economic explanation for migration behavior better than the metropolitan origin migrants, an explanation which of course stems from the body of research on migration to the city. On the other hand, it was also noted that it was precisely the nonmetropolitan origin migrants who were least like nonmetropolitan residents in their views on development issues. In other words, the potential for a clashing in points of view between migrants and local residents, which is usually attributed to newcomers from the city, seemed in our data to lie with nonmetropolitan more than metropolitan origin migrants. If metropolitan areas are not greatly different from metropolitan areas and if rural areas are attracting migrants for reasons much like those that attracted migrants to the city in the past, the nonmetropolitan origin migrants, who are by no means moving from farm backgrounds into the growth areas, should not have stood out as advocates of change. On balance, these results do not mesh well with the "urbanization of the hinterland" theme as an underlying factor in the new migration.

Urbanization: implications for the new migration

There is no denying that on a variety of counts once remote rural areas are coming to be more "urbanized" in a general sense. One must recognize the existence and spread of modern transportation, communication, and other service delivery systems to formerly remote areas. It also seems likely that such trends will continue in the years ahead. In some senses we are perhaps experiencing the emergence of a "mass society." If, then, the blurring of distinctions between city and countryside does play an active role in accounting for the new migration, one should expect that migration to continue in the decades ahead and perhaps even accelerate.

By and large, however, we do not feel comfortable with the urbanization theme as an explanatory factor. At various points in the discussion concern has been expressed about the lack of strong consensus among the respondents about what they perceive as attractive in rural life or what they perceive as the problems of life in the city. For such reasons alone we would hesitate to invoke another broad category, in this case the urbanization of the hinterland as an explanation for a very real phenomenon. And, to the extent that the respondents do agree on the attractiveness of certain rural amenities or push factors associated with urban living, one has to conclude that they do see differences and quite a variety of differences between city and countryside. The general point here, however, is that further research on *specific* attractants and repellants would seem to be a more productive course to follow,

rather than to fall back on another and highly abstract theme as an explanation for the new migration.

Many more specific reservations could be listed, all of which make us hesitant to look to urbanization of the hinterland as an explanation for the new migration. Highway systems have been vastly improved in recent decades, but few of the migrant respondents' commute. Thus, ease of travel does not seem to play much of a role in their day-to-day life. Communication systems have improved, but no one would argue that the countryside is like the city in, say, reception of television programs. Both the countryside *and* the city have been changing and continue to change. Ultimately one has to raise the question: If city and countryside are becoming more alike, if convergence is taking place, why do people migrate, and why is the nation experiencing a "new" migration?

What of the Future?

The reversal in migration patterns which has been described and researched occurred at a time of widespread acceptance that the trend toward metropolitan concentration was inevitable and would continue well into the future. Attention was instead focused on problems of population distribution and explicitly on the need for a national population policy. Although these issues are still items on the national agenda, much of the prior orientation has changed with the recent and unexpected reversal in the direction of migration flows. How long the current reversal will last and what its eventual magnitude and impacts will be are questions to which there are few if any answers. This chapter has suggested numerous research needs which have to be addressed before the new migration is fully understood and before decision makers can engage in planning for stimulating or directing flows or for redressing any imbalances which the trend's continuation may entail.

Unquestionably, the new migration has stimulated quite a bit of thinking and research, and early in the trend rather than after it has ebbed or progressed further. This is unlike the past rural-to-urban trend, for which concern over migration did not materialize for several decades after its peak. The current reversal, despite its newness, has been fully documented and its potential implications have been highlighted in numerous publications and forums. Thus, while the new migration has been given relatively early, widespread attention, there is still much more that has to be done in monitoring the migration process and in conducting basic research on the interrelationships among elements of the migration decision and various societal conditions. Many of these relationships have been identified in the preceding pages.

This research has been useful in providing insights in many different facets of the recent population reversal and especially from the perspectives of migrants implicated in the trend. There are many additional perspectives, however, which have to be examined

before we come to a fuller understanding of what the trend will mean for current and future migrants and for the areas they are leaving and settling in. A research momentum has been generated. If it is to bear fruit, broader issues will have to be addressed and to a greater depth than has been possible up to now.

202

REFERENCES

Bach, Robert L. and Joel Smith. "Community Satisfaction, Expectations of Moving, and Migration." *Demography*. 14 (May, 1977), pp. 147-67.

Baer, William C. "On the Death of Cities." *The Public Interest*. No. 45 (Fall, 1976), pp. 3-19.

Beale, Calvin L. *The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America*. Washington: USDA ERS-605. 1975.

Beale, Calvin L. "A Further Look at Nonmetropolitan Population Growth Since 1970." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*. 58 (December, 1976), pp. 953-58.

Beale, Calvin L. "People on the Land." In Thomas R. Ford (ed.) *Rural U.S.A.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1978, pp. 37-54.

Beale, Calvin L. "The Recent Shift of United States Population to Nonmetropolitan Areas, 1970-75." *International Regional Science Review*. 2 (No. 2, 1977).

Blackwood, Larry G. and Edwin H. Carpenter. "The Importance of Anti-Urbanism in Determining Residential Preferences and Migration Patterns." *Rural Sociology*. 43 (Spring, 1978), pp. 31-47.

Bowles, Gladys H. "Contributions of Recent Metro/Nonmetro Migrants to the Nonmetro Population and Labor Force." *Agricultural Economics Research*. 30 (4) 1978.

Brinkman, George. "The Condition and Problems of Nonmetropolitan America." In George Brinkman (Ed.), *The Development of Rural America*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1974, pp. 51-73.

Brown, David L. "Racial Disparity and Urbanization, 1960 and 1970." *Rural Sociology*. 43 (Fall, 1978), pp. 403-25.

Brown, L.A. and S.O. Gustavus, "Place Attributes in a Migration Decision Context." *Environment and Planning A*. 9 (1977), pp. 529-48.

Brown, Laurence A., Edward J. Malecki and Susan Gustavus Philliber. "Awareness Space Characteristics in a Migration Context." *Environment and Behavior*. 9 (September, 1977), pp. 335-48.

Campbell, Rex R., Gary J. Stangler and Geroge H. Dailey. "Migration to Nonmetropolitan Areas: The Ozarks." Paper presented at the annual meetings of The Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wisconsin, 1977.

Campbell, Rex R. and Daniel M. Johnson. "Propositions on County-Stream Migration." *Rural Sociology*. 41 (Spring, 1976), pp. 127-45.

Cebula, Richard J. "The Quality of Life and Migration of the Elderly." *The Review of Regional Studies*. 4 (Spring, 1974), pp. 62-68.

Chalmers, James A. and Michael J: Greenwood. "Thoughts on Rural to Urban Migration Turnaround." *International Regional Science Review*. 2 (Nov. 2, 1977), pp. 167-70.

Chevan, Albert and Lucy Rose Fischer. "Retirement and Interstate Migration." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, Georgia, April, 1978.

Cockerham, William C. and Audie L. Blevins, Jr. "Attitudes Toward Land Use Planning in Jackson Hole." *Journal of the Community Development Society of America*. 8 (Spring, 1977), pp. 62-73.

Coleman, J. *Community Conflict*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957.

Commission on Population Growth and The American Future. *Population and The American Future*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Dailey, George H., Gary J. Stangler and Rex R. Campbell. "Migration to the Ozarks: The Aged Migrant." Paper presented at the annual Rural Sociological Society Meetings, Augsut, 1977, Madison, Wisconsin.

DaVanzo, Julie and Peter A. Morrison. *Dynamics of Return Migration: Descriptive Findings From a Longitudinal Study*. Rand Paper Series (P-5913), The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, 1978.

De Jong, Gordon F. and Ralph R. Sell. "Population Redistribution, Migration, and Residential Preferences." *Annals, AAPS*. 429 (January, 1977), pp. 130-44.

De Jong, Gordon F. and Ralph R. Sell. *Residential Preferences and Migration Behavior*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University. Population Issues Research Office, 1975.

De Jong, Gordon F. *Residential Preferences and Population Dispersal Migration Behavior*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Population Issues Research Offices, 1976.

De Jong, Gordon F. and Craig R. Humphrey. "Selected Characteristics of Metropolitan to Nonmetropolitan Migrants: A Study of Population Redistribution in Pennsylvania." *Rural Sociology*. 41 (Winter, 1976), pp. 526-38.

De Lind, Laura Barwicke. "Leisureville: A Developmental Study of Behavior and Social Organization Within a Rural U.S. County." East Lansing: Michigan State University. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1978.

Dillman, Don A. and Kenneth R. Tremblay, Jr. "The Quality of Life in Rural America." *Annals, AAPSS*. 429 (January, 1977), pp. 115-29.

Dillman, Don and Russell Dobash. *Preferences for Community Living and Their Implications for Population Redistribution*. Pullman: Washington State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1972.

Duncan, Greg J. and Sandra Newman. "Expected and Actual Residential Mobility." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*. 42 (April, 1976), pp. 174-86.

Duncan, O.D. "A Socio-economic Index for all Occupations." In A.J. Reiss (ed.). *Occupations and Social Status*. New York: Free Press, 1961.

Fischer, Claude S. "The Metropolitan Experience" in Amos H. Hawley and Vincent P. Rock (eds.), *Metropolitan America*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975, pp. 201-34.

Fried, Marc and Peggy Gleicher. "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*. 27 (November, 1961), pp. 305-15.

Fuguitt, Glenn V. and Calvin L. Beale. "Post-1970 Shifts in the Pattern of Population Change in the North Central Region." In *Patterns of Migration and Population Change in America's Heartland*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1978, pp. 14-21.

Fuguitt, Glenn V. "Population Trends of Nonmetropolitan Cities and Villages in the United States." In Sara Mills Mazie (ed). *Population Distribution and Policy*. Washington: Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. 1972, pp. 110-26.

Glenn, Norval D. and Lester Hill, Jr. "Rural-Urban Differences in Attitudes and Behavior in the United States." *Annals, AAPSS*. 429 (January, 1977), pp. 37-50.

Goldstein, Sidney. "Facets of Redistribution: Research Challenges and Opportunities." *Demography*. 13 (November, 1976), pp. 423-34.

Goudy, Willis J. "Evaluation of Local Attitudes and Community Satisfaction in Small Towns." *Rural Sociology*. 42 (Fall, 1977), pp. 271-82.

Graeber, Edith E. "Newcomers and Oldtimers: Growth and Change in a Mountain Town." *Rural Sociology*. 39 (Winter, 1974), pp. 504-13.

Greenwood, Michael J. "Research on Internal Migration in the United States: A Survey." *Journal of Economic Literature*. 13 (June, 1975), pp. 397-433.

Hansen, Niles M. "Factors Determining the Location of Industrial Activity." In Larry Whiting (ed.). *Rural Industrialization*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1974, pp. 27-45.

Hawley, Amos H. (ed.). *Toward an Understanding of Metropolitan America*. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1975.

Hennigh, Lawrence. "The Good Life and the Taxpayers' Revolt." *Rural Sociology*. 43 (Summer, 1978), pp. 178-190.

Kish, Leslie. *Survey Sampling*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965.

Kiker, B.F. and Earl C. Trayham. "Earnings Differentials Among Nonmigrants, Return Migrants, and Nonreturn Migrants." *Growth and Change*. 8 (April, 1977), pp. 2-7.

Koebernick, Tom and J. Allan Beegle. "Migration of the Elderly to Rural Areas: A Case Study in Michigan." In *Patterns of Migration and Population Change in America's Heartland*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1978, pp. 86-104.

Land, Kenneth C. "Duration of Residence and Prospective Migration: Further Evidence." *Demography*. 6 (May, 1969), pp. 133-40.

Lansing, John B., and Eva Mueller. *The Geographic Mobility of Labor*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1967.

Levy, Marion J. *Modernization and The Structure of Societies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Long, John F. "The Deconcentration of Nonmetropolitan Population." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, GA., 1978.

Long, Larry H. and Kristin A. Hansen. "Reasons for Interstate Migration." *Current Population Reports*, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 81. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1979.

Marans, Robert W. and Willard Rogers. "Toward an Understanding of Community Satisfaction." In Amos H. Hawley and Vincent P. Rock (eds.). *Metropolitan America*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975, pp. 299-354.

McCarthy, Kevin F. and Peter A. Morrison. *The Changing Demographic and Economic Structure of Nonmetropolitan Areas in the 1970's*. Rand Paper Series (P-6062). Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation. 1978.

Mikesell, James J. *Population Change and Metro-nonmetro Housing Quality Differences. Economic Research Service*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Economic Report, No. 388, 1977.

Mitchell, Glenn H. "Voluntary Movers, A Study of Voluntary Movement to a Small Southwestern Community." *Journal of Behavioral Economics*. 4 (Winter, 1975), pp. 87-102.

Mitchell, James K. "Adjustments to New Physical Environments Beyond the Metropolitan Fringe." *The Geographical Review*. 66 (January, 1976), pp. 18-31.

Morrison, Peter A. and Judith P. Wheeler. *Rural Renaissance in America?* Population Bulletin 31. Population Reference Bureau, 1976.

Morrison, Peter A. *Movers and Stayers: An Analysis Based on Two Longitudinal Data Files*. Rand Corporation Paper Series. Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1970.

Nadler, Paul S. "New Chance for the Cities." *Real Estate Review*. 4 (Winter, 1975), pp. 24-28.

Newman, Sandra. "Objective and Subjective Determinants of Prospective Residential Mobility." *Social Indicators Research*. 2 (June, 1975), pp. 53-63.

Ploch, Louis A. "The Reversal in Migration Patterns-Some Rural Development Consequences." *Rural Sociology*. 43 (Summer, 1978), pp. 293-303.

President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. *Rural Poverty in the United States*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

Price, Dan O., and M. M. Sikes. *Rural-Urban Migration Research in the United States*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

Quigley, John M. and Daniel H. Weinberg. "Intra-Urban Residential Mobility: A Review and Synthesis." *International Regional Science Review*. 2 (Fall, 1977).

Reiger, Jon H. and J. Allan Beegle. "The Integration of Rural Migrants in New Settings." *Rural Sociology*. 39 (Spring, 1974), pp. 42-55.

Reiger, Jon H., J. Allan Beegle and Philip N. Fulton. "Diaspora and Adaption: A Case Study of Youth From A Low-Income Rural Area." In *Patterns of Migration and Population Change in America's Heartland*. North Central Regional Research Publication 238. East Lansing: Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1978, pp. 52-64.

Ritchey, P. Neal. "Explanations of Migration." In A. Inkeles (ed.) *Annual Review of Sociology* 2. Palo Alto, California: Annual Reviews, Inc., 1976, pp. 363-404.

Roseman, Curtis C. *Changing Migration Patterns in the United States*. Resource Paper, Commission on College Geography, Association of American Geographers, Washington, D.C., 1977.

Rossi, Peter H. "Community Social Indicators." In Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse (eds.). *The Human Meaning of Social Change*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972, pp. 87-125.

Schwarzweller, Harry K. "Migration and The Changing Rural Scene." Presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of The Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, California, September, 1978.

Sokolow, Alvin D. "California's New Migration To The Towns of the 'Cow Counties'." *California Journal*. October, 1977, np.

Speare, Alden, Jr. "Residential Satisfaction as an Intervening Variable in Residential Mobility." *Demography*. 11 (May, 1974), pp. 173-88.

Spectorsky, A.C. *The Exurbanites*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1955.

Shaw, R. Paul. *Migration Theory and Fact: A Review and Bibliography of Current Literature*. Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute, 1975.

Sly, David F. *Tourism's Role in Migration to Florida*: Governmental Research Bulletin, The Florida State University, Institute for Social Research, Vol. II, 1974.

Smith, T. Lynn and Paul E. Zopf, Jr. *Demography*. Port Washington, NY: Alfred Publishing Co., 1976.

Stanford Research Institute. "City Size and the Quality of Life." Report to the Subcommittee on Rural Development of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, U.S. Senate. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

Time. "Americans on the Move." March 15, 1976.

Toney, Michael B. "Length of Residence, Social Ties and Economic Opportunities." *Demography*. 13 (August, 1976), pp. 297-309.

Toney, Michael B. "The Simultaneous Examination of Economic and Social Factors in Destination Selection: Employing Objective and Subjective Measures." *Demography*. 15 (May, 1978), pp. 205-12.

Tucker, C. Jack. "Changing Patterns of Migration Between Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas in the United States: Recent Evidence." *Demography*. 13 (November, 1976), pp. 435-43.

U.S. Fact Book. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1976.

Wang, Ching-li and J. Allan Beegle, "Impact of Elderly Migration on the Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan Areas of the North Central Region." Paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society annual meeting, Madison, Wisconsin, 1977.

Wardell, John M. "Equilibrium and Change in Metropolitan Growth." *Rural Sociology*. 42 (Summer, 1977), pp. 156-79.

White, Michelle J. "Self-Interest in the Suburbs: The Trend Toward No-Growth Zoning." *Policy Analysis*. 4 (Spring, 1978), pp. 185-204.

Williams, James D. "The Changing Causal and Compositional Structure of Migration in the Nonmetropolitan Midwest, 1955-70." Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1978.

Wiseman, R.F. and C.C. Roseman. "A Typology of Elderly Migration Based on the Decision-Making Process." University of Illinois, Department of Geography working paper, 1978.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. "Coping with Migration Turnaround: The Theoretical Challenge." *International Regional Science Review*. 2 (No. 2, 1977), pp. 175-78.

Zimmer, Basil G. "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures." *American Sociological Review*. 20 (April, 1955), pp. 218-24.

Zuiches, James J., and Glenn V. Fuguitt. "Residential Preferences and Mobility Expectations." Paper presented at joint session of American Sociological Association and Rural Sociological Society annual meetings, New York, 1976.

Zuiches, James J. and David L. Brown. "The Changing Character of the Nonmetro Population, 1950-75." In Thomas R. Ford (ed.) *Rural U.S.A.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1978, pp. 55-72.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The major objectives of the research have been to address across a broad geographical base some of the questions being raised by the new migration so that we might begin to make generalizations about the migration processes involved in the trend. Several methodological issues arose which had to be resolved prior to the survey: 1) Sampling would have to encompass a population sufficiently large to permit generalization to a broad area, yet without increasing survey costs or the difficulty of locating respondents; 2) a method had to be devised for identifying and locating the desired sample respondents, particularly metropolitan origin migrants who we assumed were a rare segment of the population; and 3) decisions had to be made regarding the types of control samples that would permit an inquiry into the issues posed by the new migration and addressed in the research.

Selection of Sample Counties

There is no way, short of random digit dialing, of identifying migrant households on a broad regional level. This fact alone has spawned ingenious and varied techniques of identifying recent inmigrants, but these techniques are not practical or efficient over a broad area. Given that we would be conducting phone interviews among recent migrants, we decided to restrict the survey to nonmetropolitan counties in which the probabilities of locating migrants in the general population would be relatively high. We thus decided to sample households from the population in the high net inmigration counties of the region. As of November 1975 there were 866 nonmetropolitan counties in the 12 states of the North Central Region. Many, but not all of these, had been experiencing net inmigration during the decade according to annual population estimates. A selection criterion of greater than 10 percent net inmigration, 1970 to 1975, was applied, yielding 75 high net inmigration target counties (see Figure 1: Introduction). This target group contained no counties in either Iowa or Kansas while Missouri and Michigan accounted for 24 and 21 counties, respectively. An examination of county data has revealed that the target counties are by no means homogeneous with regard to factors suggested to be important to the recent trends toward migration growth in nonmetropolitan counties. There is considerable variability among the counties on such indicators as total population change, net migration in the previous decade, changes in the farm population, proportions employed in the various industrial sectors, and proportions working outside the county of residence. Forty-eight of the counties

contained no urban place in 1970, and only 25 of the counties were adjacent to an SMSA in 1975.

Selection of Sample Households

Within these high inmigration counties a survey population of 316,430 households with telephones was estimated from 1975 census estimates of households and 1970 estimates of telephone coverage for the target counties. Telephone exchange areas were identified for each of the counties and the most recent telephone directories (1976 or 1977) were obtained. A systematic random sample of 11,329 households was drawn from listings in these directories using a sampling interval of one in 28.

The average telephone coverage of households for the target counties was 82.5 percent in 1970. Only six counties, which accounted for less than 4 percent of the survey population, had phone coverage of less than 70 percent. Estimates by the Bureau of the Census indicate that national phone coverage has increased since 1970 and thus the 1970 phone coverage data may overestimate the potential for bias. Available data indicate that unlisted numbers are only a problem in large metropolitan areas and thus present virtually no source of bias in this study. A further potential source of bias unique to this study is the tendency for recent inmigrants to be excluded from telephone listings. Only five inmigrant households were located which had moved in 1977, through the distribution of migrants by year of inmigration is fairly regular for 1970-1976.

To further maximize the probability of locating a post-1970 inmigrant on any given call, a preliminary screening procedure was adopted in which names, addresses, and phone numbers obtained from the 1976 (1977) directories were matched with the appropriate 1970 telephone directory. This matching, performed at the Library of Congress, yielded two strata: 1) 5,535 "expected resident" households (matched households); and 2) 5,794 "expected immigrant" households (unmatched). As expected, some problems arose over common surnames, intra-county migration, and the redrawing of telephone exchange areas. All ambiguous cases were treated as unmatched households and placed in the expected migrant stratum. The matching technique proved to be extremely efficient for identifying nonmetropolitan residents.

This preliminary screening technique is novel and carries some unknown sources of bias which we can only speculate about. Unmatched phone numbers may result from a variety of situations including errors of omission in matching and new households resulting from marriage or from only recently obtaining a phone. Similarly, a matched number may, upon interview, turn out to be a migrant household which had moved out of the county and back in during the 1970-1977 interval. While the screening questions allow accurate final allocation of households to migrant type groups, er-

rors in the matching phase affect the usefulness of population estimation parameters. Estimation weights are not central to the analysis employed in this report. Twenty-four percent of the expected inmigrant stratum was found to be such, and 90 percent of the matched phone number stratum turned out to be residents. Overall, we achieved approximately a 50 percent reduction in screening calls necessary to locate the required numbers of interviews in the various groups.

Selection of Sample Types

Three strata were identified at the outset of the survey as being important for purposes of the study: 1) **area residents,** individuals living in the county continuously since April 1, 1970; 2) **metropolitan origin inmigrants** who had moved in since April 1970; and 3) **nonmetropolitan origin inmigrants** who had moved in since April 1970. The residents and nonmetropolitan migrants provide important control groups with which the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants can be compared.

Approximately 20 percent of all calls resulted in noninterviews, mainly because telephones were disconnected or not in service. In large part, this reflects the large number of vacation homes in many of the target counties. Once a valid respondent had been contacted, but prior to identification of respondent type, the refusal rate was 3.7 percent. The refusal rate on the main interview was 9 percent for the metropolitan origin migrants and 3 percent for the nonmetropolitan origin migrants and residents. In general, the refusal rates were rather low even for a telephone survey. Interview length ranged from 30 to 50 minutes and interviewers reported that respondents generally were very cooperative and enjoyed the questions.

The telephone matching technique ultimately produced six respondent groups. Three of these were consistent with our intended strategy: 1) residents who were identified and interviewed out of calls to the expected resident sample of households; 2) nonmetropolitan origin migrants interviewed from the expected migrant sample; and 3) metropolitan origin migrants interviewed from the expected migrant sample. The imprecision inherent in the matching procedure, and the out- and return-migration of some individuals in the years between the two matching dates, produced three additional respondent types: 1) metropolitan origin migrants from the expected resident sample, 2) nonmetropolitan origin migrants from the expected resident sample, and 3) residents from the expected migrant sample. Since there were relatively few migrants obtained from the expected resident stratum they were deleted from the survey. There was, however, a sufficiently large number of residents nested in the nonmatched, expected migrant stratum to warrant special attention.

On the basis of *a priori* reasoning that the residents in the nonmatched, expected migrant stratum may constitute a different

population, an additional random sample was drawn of all residents identified in this manner. This second group of residents presents a problem in subsequent analysis insofar as residents from the expected migrant stratum were not sampled in the same proportion as residents from the expected resident stratum. This was corrected by weighting and the two resident samples were combined. Tests of differences ($p = <.10$) between the groups on 375 variables suggested that while weighting might not be necessary, a few of the significant group differences between the two resident substrata on crucial variables such as age of respondent provide some evidence that weights should be used to combine the two groups.

The weights used in the present research have been manipulated so as to allow a presentation of data for the total resident group equal to the actual number of interviews obtained. For purposes of combining the two resident groups, the 152 interviews with residents from the migrant subsample have been assigned a weight equal to .8, and the 274 interviews with residents from the resident subsample have a weight equal to 1.11. No further weighting is employed since all percentages are computed within main categories of respondent type. To assure sufficient numbers of interviews of each of the primary sample types, successive random subsampling was employed within strata until *a priori* numbers of completed interviews of each migrant/resident group were obtained.

Significance Testing

The complexity of the sampling strategy makes significance testing problematic. The use of disproportionate stratified sampling, and thus different probabilities of selection for the two migrant and one (combined) resident group, deviates from the assumption of simple random sampling required for most significance tests (Kish, 1965:77ff). There is no simple yet accurate solution to the problem.

For purposes of clarity and convenience, we have chosen to avoid complicated routines for purposes of significance testing. We have decided to provide confidence intervals for percentages rather than pair-wise tests for group differences or other statistics. That is, virtually all of the data presented in the text refer to percentages of some specified group with comparisons across groups. For polytomous variables, the percentages may be interpreted as a series of dichotomies and interval estimates remain valid.

We should note, however, that strictly speaking, comparisons across sampling strata require proportional weighting and adjustments to the standard formulas for interval estimates. No weighting or adjustment has been made and our confidence intervals assume that data for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan origin migrants and residents are from independent random samples.

The appendix table presents 10-percent intervals for various base N's and percentages. The values in the body of the table are

Appendix Table. Five-percent confidence limits (±) for selected base N's and percentages

Percentage value for a dichotomy	Base N									
	50	100	150	200	250	300	350	400	450	500
10	8.3	5.9	4.8	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.6
20	11.1	7.8	6.4	5.5	5.0	4.5	4.2	3.9	3.7	3.5
30	12.7	9.0	7.3	6.4	5.7	5.2	4.8	4.5	4.2	4.0
40	13.6	9.6	7.8	6.8	6.1	5.5	5.1	4.8	4.5	4.3
50	13.9	9.8	8.0	6.9	6.2	5.7	5.2	4.9	4.6	4.4
60	13.6	9.6	7.8	6.8	6.1	5.5	5.1	4.8	4.5	4.3
70	12.7	9.0	7.3	6.4	5.7	5.2	4.8	4.5	4.2	4.0
80	11.1	7.8	6.4	5.5	5.0	4.5	4.2	3.9	3.7	3.5
90	8.3	5.9	4.8	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.6

absolute and should be added and subtracted to the relevant point estimate. In comparing two groups, the reader may ascertain, using these intervals, whether or not the intervals for two groups' percentages overlap and thus judge whether or not the two point estimate percentages are significantly different at the 5-percent level. This technique, however, provides a stronger test of significance than the standard test of whether the difference between two percentages is different from zero. That is, the intervals may overlap somewhat and still be significantly different at the 5-percent level.

Values in the table are derived from the following:

$$Sp = \sqrt{pq/N}$$

where Sp = the standard error of the percentage
P = observed percentage
q = 100 − p
N = base N

then:

$$ci = p \pm 1.96\ Sp$$

Limitations

As with any survey, numerous limitations exist which serve to condition statements made on the basis of the data. First, the sampling design precludes addressing certain types of research questions. Note that we have a sample of migrants at their places of destination, not samples of people in metropolitan areas or of all metropolitan (or nonmetropolitan) outmigrants. Thus, such questions as why people leave cities in general or whether metropolitan outmigrants tend to move down the urban hierarchy in an attempt to achieve size of place preferences cannot be addressed. We can only address questions of why those who came to the target areas moved or whether, in contrast to other migrants and residents, those who have migrated into the target areas go disproportionately to open country or small town residences. These subtle but important distinctions in questions appropriate to the research design need to be kept in mind to avoid misinterpreting the data.

Second, our data can be generalized only to the target counties, defined as high net inmigration counties in the North Central Region. Because the target counties were selected on the basis of rates, rather than numbers, we are generalizing to areas with proportionally rapid net inmigration, not to those counties acquiring the largest absolute numbers of net inmigrants. No effort was made to insure that the selection of respondents was proportional to any county-level change parameter. Indeed, such would have been impossible for inmigrants since only net migrant estimates are available for post-1970, and then not for households. Because the original sample was drawn from recent phone books in a ran-

dom fashion, however, the sample reflected numbers of households approximately proportionate to household counts in the counties. Beyond that, the final counts of interviews with each of the respondent types for each of the counties reflects a myriad of factors, including differing numbers of households, differing rates of household inmigration, different rates of disconnected phones, and differing refusal rates. Because of these contingencies, no attempt can be made to array data by any county level characteristics, and interpretations of the data will apply only to the stated universe, in the aggregate.